



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.



**Territorial stigmatisation of
French housing estates**
From internalisation to coping with stigma

Paul Kirkness
The University of Edinburgh
PhD thesis

Appendix 4:.....	5
Abstract	6
Acknowledgements	7
Declaration of Originality	8
Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	10
1.1 - Introducing the thesis	10
1.1.1 - Reading the 'ghetto' landscape in Nîmes	10
1.1.2 - After the riots... ..	12
1.1.3 - A semantics of war	15
1.2 - Outline of the thesis	18
Chapter 2 - Resistance to the stigmatisation of place.....	24
2.1 - Introduction.....	24
2.2 - Stigma and stigmatisation	29
2.2.1 - The mark of stigma.....	30
2.2.2 - The stigmatised other and societal solidarity	33
2.2.3 - The stigmatised category and ambivalence	38
2.3 - Territorial Stigmatisation	43
2.3.1 - A word about segregation.....	43
2.3.2 - The constitution of 'immoral' geographies	46
2.3.3 - The internalisation of advanced urban marginality?	50
2.4 - Everyday life, stigmatisation, negotiation and resistance	55
2.4.1 - 'From internalisation to resistance, to change'	55
2.4.2 - Speaking back to stigma and to the taint of place	61
2.5 - Conclusion	65
Chapter 3 - Methods and methodology	67
3.1 - Introduction.....	67
3.2 - Methodological foundations of the thesis	68

3.3 - Research design.....	74
3.3.1 - Review of documents	74
3.3.2 - Study-sites: Pissevin and Valdegour.....	76
3.3.3 - Recruitment of respondents	79
3.4 - Data collection and analysis	82
3.4.1 - Semi-structured interviews	82
3.4.2 - Interview experiences	84
3.4.3 - Transcription and analysis of the data	88
3.5 - Representation and reflexivity	89
3.6 - Conclusion	96
Chapter 4 - French <i>banlieues</i> and housing estates	97
4.1 - Introduction.....	97
4.2 - The establishment of a <i>banlieue</i> landscape.....	99
4.2.1 - From <i>faubourgs</i>	99
4.2.2 - ... to the <i>banlieues</i>	102
4.3 – The development of French housing estates	105
4.3.1 - Tainted from the start: the chaotic development of <i>lotissements</i>	106
4.3.2 - The glory days of the <i>grands ensembles</i>	109
4.3.3 - Othering the <i>grands ensembles</i>	117
4.3.4 – The <i>politique de la ville</i> and 'priority geographies'.....	120
4.4 - Conclusion	125
Chapter 5 - Pissevin and Valdegour, blotches on the 'Roman city'	128
5.1 - Introduction.....	128
4.2 – Conflicts between a 'Roman city' and housing estates	132
4.3 – Architectural modernism in the southern ' <i>garrigue</i> '.....	135
4.4 – Pissevin and Valdegour in Nîmes today	137
4.5 - Conclusion	147

Chapter 6 - Internalising and reproducing negative representations	149
6.1 – Introduction	149
6.2 - Non-residents representations of Pissevin and Valdegour	152
6.2.1 - Introduction: French ZUPs in 'ordinary talk'	152
6.2.2 - Fear of the margins and the 'invasion' of the centre	153
6.2.3 - Non-resident depictions of Nîmes' <i>banlieue</i> landscape	158
6.2.4 – The fear of contagion	163
6.3 - The internalisation of the 'blemish of place' by <i>cit�</i> residents	167
6.3.1 – 'Us' and 'them': lateral denigration and mutual distancing	168
6.3.2 - Ambivalence, fear and anxieties	172
6.4 - Stigmatising discourses from inside and outside housing estates	175
6.4.1 - Delinquency and the myth of the ' <i>banlieue</i> youth'	175
6.4.2 – Territorial stigmatisation and 'the <i>cit�s</i> of Islam'	179
6.5 - Conclusion	181
Chapter 7 - Responding to territorial stigmatisation and challenging negative representations of place	183
7.1 - Introduction	183
7.2 - Organisational and associational responses to territorial stigmatisation	185
7.2.1 - Conceptual and theoretical understandings of geographies of care	185
7.2.2 - Poverty and the uncaring state	187
7.2.3 - Integration	196
7.2.4 - Fear	199
7.2.5 - Youths	201
7.3 - Grassroots organising against territorial stigma	204
7.3.1 - Neighbourhood committees	204
7.3.2 – Re-representing the <i>cit�s</i> - creating new media representations	211
7.4 - Everyday resistance to territorial stigmatisation?	217

7.4.1 - Challenging the idea of stigma	217
7.4.2 - Festivals and the production of 'foreign places'	219
7.5 – Neighbourhood appropriation and speaking back to stigma.....	221
7.5.1 - Displaying profound attachment to the stigmatised place of residence	222
7.5.2 – Appropriating and reworking the language of stigma	225
7.5.3 - Territorial appropriations of <i>banlieue</i> spaces	227
7.6 - Conclusion	234
Chapter 8 - Concluding remarks: A right to the <i>cité</i> ?	237
8.1 - Summary of the research findings	237
8.2 - Limitations of the thesis and directions for future research.....	241
8.3 - Implications of the research findings	245
Appendix 1: List of participants.....	251
Appendix 2: Consent form.....	253
Appendix 3: Interview guides	255
Appendix 4: Decision to demolish 170 homes in Valdegour.....	261
Literature references.....	262

Abstract

In this thesis I examine the ways in which residents of France's so-called '*banlieues*' respond to everyday life in stigmatised neighbourhoods. Through a description of the processes at work in two housing estate neighbourhoods of the southern French city of Nîmes - Pissevin and Valdegour - and drawing upon an analysis of intensive interviews, I question the popular belief that residents of French *banlieue*-spaces come to internalise the stigmatic representations that are produced outside their place of residence. The overarching argument of the thesis is that, while it is clear that territorial stigmatisation has long-lasting and pervasive consequences for banlieue residents, affecting their sense of self and their capacity for collective action, there are a number of ways in which the 'blemish of place' is challenged and the marks of neighbourhood stigma resisted. It is important to recognise the attempts that are made within French housing estates to displace or negotiate stigmatising gazes and to confront the labels that affix themselves to place. This thesis argues that there are a variety of counter-discursive attempts to reframe and to reclaim the representations of France's housing estates that leads to the affirmation of banlieue-identities. Within the banlieues, there are solid links between residents and place, as well as between the residents themselves. Strong efforts are deployed by associations, neighbourhood committees and grassroots organisations to actively challenge the stigmatic scripts that are imposed upon stigmatised neighbourhoods. However, this thesis also draws attention to the everyday tactics that residents enact in order to cope with territorial stigmatisation and its effects. These everyday practices allow for some to cope with the heavy burden of stigma while taking control of the 'neighbourhood space'. All of these tactics challenge and 'speak back' to the labels, the stereotypes and the stigmatising language that is produced at the level of urban planning. This leads to the vital rethinking of policies that aim to displace and disperse residents in the name of social mixing, as well as urban policy initiatives that equate renovation to the demolition of housing estates within French banlieues.

Acknowledgements

Had it not been for the constant help, support and necessary pressure from my supervisors, this thesis would never have been written. I am eternally grateful to Lynn Staeheli and Tom Slater for their immense patience throughout the writing process. I would like to thank them both particularly for being so encouraging during moments where my motivation for writing and editing receded. If it wasn't for their inspiration and advice, this thesis would have taken twice as long to complete. Dan Swanton and Mustafa Dikeç were invaluable examiners. I have tried to incorporate as many of their comments as possible to the edited version of this thesis but I can never do justice to the thoughtfulness of their recommendations.

I am deeply indebted to the respondents who took part in this project. A special thanks to those who helped getting the ball rolling in various ways. Bilal, Amina, Françoise and Khalid: I'm not sure I can ever repay you enough for what you've done to help me in this project. Thank you so much for your generosity.

Thanks to the University of Edinburgh's School of Geosciences for the material support without which this research would still be just a dream. During my time in Edinburgh, I made some amazing friends who have all been sources of support along the way: Stephanie Terreni-Brown, Jochen Mayer, David Ralph, Elsa Munro, Leslie Mabon, Chris Ellis, Sophie Cranston and Pete Kingsley. To those who pushed for my continuation of studies when I had doubts, I must say a huge thank you: Haleh Afshar and Adrian Leftwich from the University of York; Jacques Sémelin in Sciences-Po; and Rita Abrahamsen, Ayla Göl, Andrew Linklater and Hidemi Suganami in Aberystwyth University. Your inspiration was the key to my continuing interest in academia.

I have to give a big hug to Louise and Emma, my two nieces that I did not see as much as I would have liked during the writing of this PhD thesis. The same goes for my sister Olivia. My parents Alice and Jim can never be thanked enough for their undying enthusiasm for whatever I decided to undertake and for the sacrifices that they have made for us. The interest they showed for this thesis and the help they provided throughout was invaluable. And of course, I have extra-special thanks to give to my partner Susi. The marks of her understanding, her advice and her editorial comments are all over this thesis. You are fantastic! Thank you!

I would like to dedicate the thesis to three very important people. Agnès, my grandmother who passed away in June 2009. She often wrote letters giving me advice about the directions that this thesis should be taking. I hope the result would not have disappointed her. I also want to dedicate this to Sam McNaughton, who passed away on the 2nd of January 2000. You would have done all of this so much better than me my friend. Thanks for having been there. There is no better friend and I miss you.

Finally, Matilda was born on the 14th of July 2013. She has been a wonderful new person in our lives, bringing us tremendous joy and sleepless nights on equal measure. She is a lovely, adorable child and I cannot wait to share more of our lives with her.

Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed entirely by me, that it is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Paul Kirkness

Edinburgh-Paris-Nîmes-Fürth, September 2008-November 2012

"Stigma is as much about the resistance of identities as the reduction of identities; it is a dialectical process of contestation and creativity that is simultaneously anchored in and limited by the structures of history, economics and power"

Caroline Howarth, 2006 (p.450)

"I was working [...] to identify marginality as much more than a site of deprivation. In fact, I was saying that it is also the site of radical possibility, a space of resistance."

bell hooks, 1990a p.341

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 - Introducing the thesis

1.1.1 - Reading the 'ghetto' landscape in Nîmes

"It is pretty simple really. Whenever I get home from work, I drive back and what do I see? Towers... blocks. They are ghettos. Really! I mean, you can see it from far away. It is the way they look."

Every morning on week days, this self-defined 'Franco-French' (*franco-français*) man drives to work some distance from the southern French city of Nîmes, where he resides. In the evening, he drives back and as he reaches the motorway exit on the outskirts of his hometown, the first signs that he is nearing the city appear. During our discussion, he speaks of a horizon that is "tainted" by the two housing estate neighbourhoods (known as '*cités*' in France) of Valdegour and Pissevin. The tall towers and the blocks of flats are instantly recognisable to him: they make him feel "uncomfortable" and states that he feels "scared", especially since he explains that he has to drive along their outer edges on the way to his house. He talks of the fear that haunts him at a traffic light that "is well-known to be a place where car-jackings occur on a daily basis". Like a lot of Nîmes residents he has heard many tales of drug-dealing, car thefts that fuel a local car-part market, social security fraud, polygamy and Islamic fundamentalism. Had he ever ventured into these neighbourhoods? Yes, he had been there at the beginning. He explains that this was a time when those that he describes as "*franco-français* like me" lived there too. Now, he thinks it unlikely that any non-resident of the estates would go. All you have to do, he says, is look at that landscape of tower-blocks and "if you are French, you'll understand that these are no-go zones". On the local level, he 'knows' that Pissevin and Valdegour are different from the rest of Nîmes, yet he also extrapolates to the national level, making the claim that these spaces and others like them are "no longer France". The man's language is clearly marked by a racialising discourse that constructs the *cités* of Pissevin and Valdegour as located outside France and essentially

dominated by minorities. When confronted with the reminder that a great many residents of these housing estates were in fact born in France and that, as such, are the bearers of French citizenship, his response was to say that “if they are French citizens, why do they all have to live clumped together? Why don’t they mix with the rest of us?” This is an intriguing reminder that Frenchness does not necessarily go hand in hand with identity papers and that where one lives in France might also be a determinant of how French one is perceived to be.

The description of this “eye-sore on the horizon” and the vocabulary that was used in connexion to it could have been spoken almost anywhere in France. French *cités* or *banlieues* (suburban areas)¹ form a readable landscape throughout the country, connected to discourses of deviance and to what Nilüfer Göle has called a “social elsewhere” (2005: 23). The semantic field that produces and contributes to urban stigmatisation is spoken and repeated throughout France in everyday discourses that participate in the construction and further estrangement of *cité* residents and of the places in which they live. Media attention of France’s *banlieues* has been ever increasing since the early 1980s but it has evolved to consider these places largely as security concerns or as a burden for the rest of the country. Bonelli (2008) recalls the evolution of media treatment of these places from one that regarded them as ‘neighbourhoods in need’ to one that labels them as ‘sensitive neighbourhoods’² (*quartiers sensibles*). This has of course contributed to the consolidation of an understanding of the *banlieues* that is always negative. However, it would be wrong to assume that the media alone is responsible for enabling processes of labelling that have led French “neighbourhoods of exile” (Wacquant 1993: 369) to be framed as such. For almost three decades, urban policy has been shaping the *banlieues* in accordance with the evolving network of discourses that relate back to them. Statistics, mappings, naming, territorialised positive discrimination – all have generated the *banlieue* as a singular place in need of outside help and assistance (Dikeç 2006a, 2007a, 2007b; see also de Lafargues 2006; Longhi 2012; Tissot 2004). Teresa Caldeira’s work on the *favelas* in Sao Paolo (2000) stresses the importance of everyday conversations and ‘common sense’ in shaping the vision that non-

¹ The problems involved in translation and in translating the word *banlieue* in particular are addressed in chapters 4 and 5.

² Dikeç also illustrates this progressive move. Chapter 5 of *Badlands of the Republic* (2007a) is entitled “From ‘neighbourhoods in danger’ to ‘dangerous neighbourhoods’: The repressive turn in urban policy” (pp.93-124).

favela residents come to understand in relation to these neighbourhoods. Similarly, Dulong and Paperman (1992) show that *banlieues* are (re)produced through a discursive repertoire that includes everyday conversations between non-residents of *banlieues* as well as rumour. Of course, the overall repertoire that contributes to stigmatisation is not restricted to naming, mapping, statistics and so-called 'common sense' understandings of these areas. Rather, it also involves films, literature, urban myths, the documentary genre, popular music - including rap - as well as those national associations that combat discrimination and racism (see Auzanneau 2010; Bordet 2001; Boucher 1998, 2001; Marx-Scouras and Khellaf 2009; Pégram 2011; Robine 2004; Tshimanga 2009). It is also important to stress that difference and Otherness are not only discursively constituted and that they are also felt and experienced (Ahmed 2002; Hubbard 2005; Topia-Kelly 2006). Indeed, difference is pressed upon bodies and these take form in the feelings that are perceivable when we encounter and have relations with Others (Ahmed 2005; Butler 1993; Saldanha 2010).

1.1.2 - After the riots...

Such understandings take on a dramatic turn in the context of urban unrest - the *émeutes* (riots) - as they are discussed by the media, politicians and in the everyday discussions of those who *do not* reside in stigmatised *banlieues*, such as the respondent that I have quoted above. As I write these lines, it has been almost eight years since the urban unrest of 2005 that had spread to so many of the so-called "*banlieues*". During a period of three weeks, from the end of October, all the way into the month of November, *cités* became sites of extremely focused media attention. On the evening of the 27th of October three adolescents climbed over a wall and into an electric power substation in order to escape what they believed would be a police search. Two of them, Zyed Benna (17 years old) and Bouna Traoré (15 years old), subsequently died electrocuted. The third teenager, Muhittin Altun, was severely burned. As the news reports appeared on television and on the radio, a number of inhabitants of the town in which these youths resided, Clichy-sous-Bois, located to the north-east of Paris, headed for the streets. The news of the adolescents' death spread like wildfire and by the 3rd of November, 15 of France's major urban areas were

concentrating their police forces around different housing estate neighbourhoods in an attempt to contain the violence locally. Ultimately, over 300 of France's towns were affected (Dikeç 2006b: 159; Lagrange 2006).

Riva Kastoryano (2006) states that there was nothing intrinsically 'new' about these specific riots (see Bachmann and Le Guennec [1996] for a review of previous riots). This is a point that is supported by a number of researchers, including Mucchielli and Aït-Omar (2006) who demonstrate forcefully the extent whereby the rioters themselves were aware of a continuity in line with past periods of urban unrest. Ever since the 1981 'rodeos' in a *banlieue* of Lyon ³, urban unrest in France's *cités* has not been altogether uncommon⁴. This time however, three major differences could be noted. Firstly, it was apparent that the *jeunes de banlieues* ⁵, to use an expression which is commonly found in the press, were quite clearly intent on being heard (see Autain *et al.* 2006; Mucchielli and Le Goaziou 2006). Indeed, the duration and intensity of the urban unrest was unparalleled. From the 27th of October to the 16th of November a total of 10,000 cars were set on fire (Dikeç 2006b: 159) and during that time, the rioters torched official buildings such as schools and police headquarters, a bus depot as well as gymnasiums (Lagrange 2006: 38-41). The geographic dispersal of the events, which reached a large majority of *banlieues* and housing estates in France's largest cities, also pointed to the fact that the unrest did not follow as a continuation of the preceding years that had tended to be more localised ⁶.

The two other changes that were noticeable are in some ways difficult to dissociate. The heightened interest in these riots by the media came hand in hand with a level of exceptionally repressive force being deployed by the state. Whether on television or in the printed press, images of burning cars and of clashes between riot police and *banlieue*

³ The word 'rodeo' was coined by the media. It was intended to describe the summer of 'joyriding' that youths were accused of in the housing estate of Les Minguettes, in the *banlieue* of Lyon (Roché 2006: 137).

⁴ For a list of events that have occurred since 1981 under the label of 'urban unrest', see Mauger (2006b) and Waddington and King (2009).

⁵ 'Suburban youths', *jeunes de banlieue*, has become a shorthand expression to designate the younger inhabitants that live within housing estates, whether or not these *cités* are actually located in a suburban area. The expression is strongly connoted with visions of 'inactivity' and 'violence' (Lapeyronnie 2006: 215).

⁶ Bouamama (2007) notes that in some cases, such as the *cités* surrounding Lille, the areas had traditionally been described as calm.

residents came accompanied by shock headlines establishing comparisons with the Los Angeles riots of 1992 (Lauronen 2006). This latter evaluation led to a further understanding of urban unrest as in part motivated by racial exclusion and by an imagined hyper-segregated minority whose affiliations differed from those of the 'majority' population. Nicolas Sarkozy, who was Minister of the Interior at the time, promised to rid the *banlieues* of the '*raccailles*', a racialised word for scum. On top of this, re-readings of the events as 'Muslim riots' caused by 'polygamy' ⁷ (Dikeç 2006b: 160; Sciolino 2005) led to a series of uncomfortable associations whereby the *banlieues* were described as 'unintegrated' and 'unassimilable' areas, incompatible with the so-called 'values of the French Republic' (Castel 2006). Other sources referred to these neighbourhoods as home to the French 'underclass' or '*sous-prolétariat*' (*The Economist* 2005; Kokoreffe and Lapeyronnie 2013). Since November 2005, there have been several periods of localised urban unrest throughout France and they have all been accompanied by the same temporary media attention, political militaristic responses that had been deployed in previous years. The most recent took place in Trappes, a municipality located in the vicinity of Versailles. This was the result the identification check of a fully veiled woman by the police that turned sour when her husband and the officers clashed. Importantly, the riots were handled and decried in much the same way as any previously experienced unrest even as they took place under the newly formed government of Socialist Prime Minister, Jean-Marc Ayrault who distanced himself from the methods of previous centre right governments. None of these events have led to a genuine rethinking of the urban politics that are targeted at French housing estates although they should clearly be read as a sign of the failure of policy as it has been applied over the past thirty years (Bacqué and Denjean 2006).

⁷ This bizarre 'explanation' was first argued for by Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, a historian and member of the illustrious Académie Française. Worryingly, it was then given by France's Minister of Labour, Gérard Larcher (Kokoreff 2008).

1.1.3 - A semantics of war

“I’m just saying that there are places where you cannot send three or four police officers wearing their uniforms. There are perhaps sixty, seventy... maybe eighty neighbourhoods... and we all know which ones they are. In these neighbourhoods, something drastic needs to be done. And to restore a rule of law that has completely disappeared, I have indeed talked about sending in the army.”

François Rebsamen, Socialist mayor of Dijon and Senator of Côte-d’Or,
Mots Croisés, France 2, 22nd of November 2010

Firstly, it is interesting and important to note that, like the contemporary government, Rebsamen is a member of the Socialist Party (PS), which in France has historically been associated with a rather more social approach when dealing with the neighbourhoods known as the ‘*banlieues*’⁸. This suggests the slippage of this sort of language into common usage and common sense understandings. The message asks that the French ready themselves for the necessary militarisation of those neighbourhoods where the rule of law is said to be respected no longer. Indeed, French housing estates are increasingly constituted as ‘outlaw areas’ and no-go zones (*zones de non-droit*) in which the police can no longer operate as it should (Body-Gendrot 1996; Bonelli 2005; Dikeç 2007a; Fassin 2011; Jobard 2005; Mohammed and Mucchielli 2006; Roché 2006; Wacquant 2008a).

It is important to note that seven years after the “November riots”, political discourse has continued to evolve in ways that claim to promote the security of the many over the few. The ‘*racailles*’ of the *cités* are essentialised as those who terrorise, vandalise and deal drugs. In doing so, residents of housing estates are said to create enclaves that are out of state control and discussions incessantly repeat the problematic nature that such spaces represent as we are reminded that they exist *within* the French national territory. The idea,

⁸ Olivier Masclet (2006) has shown how this association between ‘left-wing / social approach to the banlieues’ has in fact been deteriorating. His study of Gennevilliers over ten years shows that when potential and militant representatives of the banlieues neighbourhoods – often of the second or third generation of immigration – make themselves known, they are shunned locally by the left-wing parties, thus depriving the banlieues of political representation.

recently popularised by the sociologist Emmanuel Brenner (2002), that there exist “lost territories of the Republic” is not a new one but the means to achieve this goal are thought of in increasingly aggressive ways (Bonelli 2007; Bui-Trong 2003; Collovald 2001; Juhem 2000; Khosrokhavar 2000; Lapeyronnie 2008; Mucchielli 2002; Ratouis and Boissonade 2006; Rigouste 2008). Contemporary depictions describe paramilitary police forces that attempt to take back parts of the city from the urban poor and for Hacène Belmessous (2010), there is no doubt that the state is operating as though it were actively at 'war' with territories that need to be re-colonised. Regular police racism and harassment has established the police forces as the oppressive arm of a surveillant state (Bigo 2003; Bousquet 1998). Certainly, recent activity and treatment of the *problème des banlieues* suggests the creation of 'spaces of exception' in which the rule of law is suspended and extraordinary measures are deployed both as a rule and as the norm. *Banlieue* residents are reduced to what Giorgio Agamben (1998; see also Rancière 2004) has referred to as 'bare life' in the eyes of judicial powers in that they are almost permanently deprived of many important rights. They are perpetually 'outside the law' and the space in which they reside is constituted as requiring regular paramilitary patrols. These come hand in hand with the now 'ordinary' identity checks performed by the police at random on *banlieue* populations. These extraordinary policing methods are to be added to the drafting of a number of decrees that have found their application limited to housing estate neighbourhoods (such as the 2005 state of emergency). These are highly productive of territorial stigmatisation as they participate in the differentiation between spaces that are construed as law abiding in opposition to those in need of enforced lawfulness.

Territorial stigmatisation is not a novel phenomenon. Whether in France or elsewhere, there are people who reside in places or a neighbourhoods that the dominant population would choose not to live in. Were the sociologist Erving Goffman to have described territorial stigmatisation, he would have argued that “normals” [*sic*] make a conscious choice not to settle in certain areas because these are mainly inhabited by the stigmatised fringes of the population, those who are constituted inside and outside the neighbourhood as deviants (Fyfe 2004; Damer and Hartshorne 1991; Ogien 2012). Slums, ghettos, favelas, *bidonvilles*

and *cités*: they all have in common that they are generally inhabited by some of the poorest and most marginalised members of a society (Agier 1999)⁹.

The stigmatisation that has framed and defined the French suburban areas known as the *banlieues* has a long history that is intertwined with migration, the rise of the Communist party (PCF), financial collapse, nineteenth century utopian thought, modernist architecture, urban planning, fears of the spread of Islam and the rise of the far-right Front National political party. It is a complicated process from which there is apparently little way of escape. A number of notable academics (Maurin 2004; Lapeyronnie 2008; Simon 1992; Touraine 1991) have joined in with the alarmist discourses that *banlieues* are adrift and in need of revitalisation to prevent 'Americanisation'. This in turn feeds into the national 'psychosis' about security (Belhaj Kacem 2006) and promotes the necessity of resorting to demolition if we are to avoid the otherwise unavoidable movement towards the US ghetto (Mesnard and Plassard 2000; Zittoun 2004).

The attitude of French society towards its peripheral cities, and housing estates more generally, has led Azouz Begag, the former Delegate Minister for equal Opportunities, to talk of a "semantics of war" (cited in R. Bacqué 2007). The tone of the moment is overtly provocative towards the younger residents of the *cités* who have shown their capacity to wreak havoc when pushed too far or when one "of their own"¹⁰ dies at the hands of the police. Some say that within these proto-political movements of urban unrest (Mauger 2006b; Mucchielli and Le Goaziou 2006b), the stigmatisation of place seems to lead to feelings of 'belonging together' and of an 'us' fighting back against a dominating 'them'¹¹ (Hadj Belgacem and Beaud 2010; Mbembe 2009; Sala Pala 2011). This is just one of the consequences of territorial stigmatisation that I am concerned to examine. An outline of the

⁹ There are, of course, exceptions and Wacquant (2007a) has argued that the North American ghetto – much like the Venetian '*campo gheto*' – is not defined by the poverty of those who reside within it since they can access the status of middle-class while being effectively locked into that space due to a lack of mobility. France's *banlieues* are understood by Wacquant as places from which residents can - and do - move away from.

¹⁰ This is a formulation that might well have begun as constructed from outside but which has become absorbed in a pattern that I discuss in chapter 7.

¹¹ The exact phrasing of "*On est tous dans la même merde*" (we are all in the same shit) is a sentence that I have heard from four different interviewees.

thesis will provide a deeper understanding of what this project is attempting to address and of what questions it will try to answer.

1.2 - Outline of the thesis

This thesis will inquire into the ways in which inhabitants of France's stigmatised suburban areas respond to the representations of their neighbourhoods that are constructed through dominant discourses as well as state practices such as urban policy. Following Rob Shield's definition, I understand these representations to be "complex formations of material, techniques and ideologies in which social practice is indissolubly linked to social thought and imagination" (Shields 1996: 228). The central research question of *how residents respond to territorial stigmatisation* in the French context is important in that it will provide answers to other questions: is there any way to avoid or undo stigmatisation of place once it has been constructed as such? If so, where might this renewal of representations come from? Social psychology is helpful in evaluating how individuals who carry marks of stigma, in a given place, at a given time, can often deal and cope with stigmatisation (Howarth 2006; Miller and Kaiser 2001; Miller and Major 2000). Sometimes the stigma is transposed into a source of individual or collective pride (Green 2009; hooks 1990a, 1990b), sometimes it is built upon and challenged (Campbell and Deacon 2006; Tyler 2013; Vienne 2005). However, stigmatising labels can also at times be internalised and incorporated (Croizet and Claire 1998; Inzlicht *et al.* 2006; Shoham 1970). I understand this internalisation, to which I come back a numerous times, as the incorporation of cultural values, mores and motives of another group through learning and socialisation as well as identification. The thesis will examine the ways in which the residents of Nîmes who live in Pissevin and Valdegour deal with territorial stigmatisation on an everyday basis, as a community, a group of individuals or simply by exercising their sense of self-worth in practices of everyday life.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literatures that deal with stigmatisation and territorial stigmatisation more specifically. It also gives a reading of ways in which the complex notion of resistance has been defined and tries to reconcile this with the possibility

that territorial stigmatisation can be coped with and confronted in a number of ways. I look at what Wacquant (2006a, 2007b) means when he refers to territorial stigmatisation and I examine why he believes that this notion should be added to the original three types of stigma that are described by Goffman (1963). I also develop Pierre Bourdieu's (1999 [1993]) notion of *effets de lieu* (place-effects) and the ways in which these have long term consequences that can result in social disqualification (Sélimanovski 2008; see also Paugam 1991). Going back to the vocabulary of stigma and stigmatisation of place, I take a closer look at labelling theory and the potential that in stereotyping places negatively, self-fulfilling prophecies are produced in certain ways (i.e. the desire for certain *banlieues* residents to act 'in place' by giving a performance of what they believe to be "expected of them" [Sauvadet 2006: 68]).

In the second part, I navigate through the various understandings of what it means to be stigmatised. I ask who has the power to stigmatise and why stigmatisation occurs. After a reminder of the fact that Durkheim believed those who carry a stigma to be a consolidating factor for a sense of community to be reinforced, I take a closer look at Erving Goffman's seminal book, *Stigma: Notes on the management of a spoiled identity* (1963). Readings of what Goffman (1963: 14) has explored in relation to the disabled ("abominations of the body"), frowned-on character traits ("blemishes of the individual character") and of the "tribal stigma of race" have largely influenced a vast literature in social psychology. The contribution to the study of stigma has been important from this latter field and I show how these analyses can be useful to urban geography. I examine the work that has been done by geographers on territorial stigmatisation and show how a better reading of social psychological works, among others, can open up avenues to think about resistance to the marks of stigma, a process that this thesis argues does occur in the peripheral neighbourhoods of our cities.

An historical overview of the ways in which territorial stigmatisation has been expressed in the nineteenth century geographical imaginations (Driver 1988, 1993; Donadey 1996; Dyos 1967; Dyos and Reeder 1973; Foucaut 1993; Masclet 2008) will lead me to consider the ways in which the 'blemish of place' works today in a variety of national contexts (Agustoni and

Alietti 2009; Caldeira 2000; Goldstein 2003; Perlman 2010; Poupeau 2007; Pred 2000; Slater and Anderson 2012) including, of course, the North American ghetto (Wacquant 2008a). The racialisation of space will also be examined as a potential source of stigmatisation (K. Anderson 1991, 2002; de Laforcade 2006; S. Smith 1993). Once again, these investigations will be partly historical, in particular with regard to the ghettos of the USA that have been studied since the 1920s (see Salerno 2007).

The third chapter is a discussion of the methodology and of the methods that I have used in order to conduct my research. It is intended to explain why I have chosen Nîmes as a specific research site rather than examining the neighbourhoods of a 'paradigmatic' city such as Paris, Lyon or Marseille. I attempt to describe the merits of the ethnographic research that was accomplished during a total of approximately one year. I account for my interpretivist methodological stance and describe the openings that this has produced in conducting the research and analysing the gathered data. I explain why semi-structured interview techniques are most suited to the understanding of the meanings that residents and non-residents of housing estates produce or reproduce about the places in which they reside. I also explain why I decided to interview neighbours of housing estates and a number of people in charge of urban policy or of the housing estates at the town hall level. A further section of the chapter is intended to highlight the ethical issues involved in studying stigmatised places. Approaching these places and naming them is potentially a contribution to stigmatisation and I address the possibility that it reinforces the understanding of such neighbourhoods as places that are out of 'the norm'. Questions of power arise when we consider one's role as researcher and I will demonstrate that I have considered them and attempted not to erase the voices of the respondents or to misrepresent what it is that they were actually trying to say. This partly explains the sometimes lengthy chunks of text which I have taken from my interview transcripts.

Chapter 4 focuses on the history of France's disenfranchised suburban areas and housing estates from the time of their construction to the contemporary period. I retrace the spread and the construction period that launched the *Habitations à Loyer Modérés* (low rent housing), known via the acronym as HLMs, as a response to terrible housing conditions and

an enormous demand in housing after the Second World War. I point to the fact that these were originally designed partly as a response to the lack of hygiene in many city-centres that had, since the late nineteenth century. In the 1970s and 1980s, as immigrants were increasingly moved out of the shantytowns or *bidonvilles*, upward mobility meant that the working-class residents of the newly constructed *cités* moved to *pavillons* (small suburban private homes) near the blocks where they had once lived¹². Their departure from the housing estates at a time of intense economic crisis led to the further marginalisation of *cité* residents. I also look at urban policy and public debates about French *banlieues*. Both highlight the ways in which the *banlieue* has been constructed as an entirely separate social space and how the term *banlieue* has come to mean something that is in all respects different from its original meaning.

Chapter 5 focuses on the Pissevin and Valdegour neighbourhoods that are located in Nîmes. Although they were presented as magnificent apartment complexes with large flats and central heating in the 1960s (see Arsène-Henry 1969, 2000), they are now the ‘beneficiaries’ of a whole array of urban policies, affecting everything from educational policies to transport services. They are officially recognised as ‘Sensitive Urban Zones’ (henceforth, ZUS) and are thus subject to intense scrutiny and outside control from the state, the region, the municipality and the administrative division known as the *département*.

In chapter 6, the first of two fairly large empirical chapters aimed at detailing my research data, I examine the negative representations of Pissevin and Valdegour and the ways in which these have partly been internalised by residents of the estates. I begin with an exploration of how the stigma is produced through everyday discussions and the inherited social constructions of those who live in Nîmes more generally. Interviews that were conducted with neighbours to the *cités* as well as nearby shop-owners expose the feelings of fear and contagion. They also reveal the expected effects that Pissevin and Valdegour have on land property and on Nîmes' reputation as a touristic city. I relate a number of resident

¹² This evolution is discussed in Cartier *et al* (2008) in their investigation of the *pavillonnaire* society. This is a study of the neighbours of large housing estates, some of which I have interviewed and quoted in this thesis, in chapter 6.

participants' narratives of everyday life in Pissevin and Valdegour and I show that residents themselves can at times be impregnated by anxieties that are to do with the negative representation of their home neighbourhood. This chapter is partly concerned with revealing some of the "strategies of mutual distancing and lateral denigration" that are discussed by Wacquant (2008b: 116).

Chapter 7 leads us to think about the myriad ways in which territorial stigmatisation is coped with and contested through everyday understandings, actions and performances. The chapter illustrates the ways in which interviewees - whether residents of Pissevin and Valdegour, or non-residents with regular contact with these estates - have responded to and sometimes actively challenged territorial stigmatisation. I begin with a brief theoretical and conceptual exploration of caring for stigmatised cities. I then explore the organisational and associational responses to the housing estates of Pissevin and Valdegour. This enables me to draw upon a considerable number of interviews that were conducted with both residents and non-residents of the housing estates who were engaged in the associations. This includes salaried employees and volunteers. Those who engage with stigma through care include social workers and this chapter details some of their hopes and expectations as well as their frustrations. A third sub-section addresses the ways in which the idea of stigma itself is challenged by some residents who do not recognise the reasons for stigmatisation and live life without the anxieties that sensitive neighbourhoods are thought to create. Fourth, I look at the grassroots organisation that is taking place in Pissevin and Valdegour and that is in part aimed at challenging stigmatisation. I followed members of two neighbourhood committees that operate in Pissevin and Valdegour and I relate the different ways in which they tackle stigmatisation.

The final parts of this last chapter examine the ways in which programmatic ways in which the city should be used regularly unravel and fall apart. For brief moments, this leads to a temporary breaking up of the control that is exercised over the territory and of its user. I have chosen to focus on the ways in which the *cités* of Pissevin and Valdegour are constantly responding to the stigmatising representations which constitute them and their neighbourhood. The everyday tactics of speaking back to the urban planner and to the 'view

from above' are substantial but all of them lead to a questioning and a challenging of readily understood notions of 'Frenchness'. The fact that many residents of Pissevin and Valdegour feel strongly attached to their places of residence should encourage us to rethink traditional republican notions of integration and beg the questions: integration where, and into what?

Chapter 2 - Resistance to the stigmatisation of place

2.1 - Introduction

Quand tout l'monde dort tranquille	When everyone is fast asleep
Dans les banlieues dortoirs	In the residential <i>banlieues</i>
C'est l'heure où les zonards	It is time for the <i>zonards</i> ¹³
Descendent sur la ville	To descend upon the town
Qui est-ce qui viol' les filles	Who is it who rapes the girls
Le soir dans les parkings ?	At night in the parkings?
Qui met l'feu aux buildings?	Who sets fire to the buildings?
C'est toujours les zonards	It is always the <i>zonards</i>
Alors c'est la paniqu' sur les boul'vards.	Then it's panic on the boulevards.

'Quand on arrive en ville', *Starmania*, words by Luc Plamondon (1976)

These lyrics are part of a song that appears in the second act of *Starmania*, a Franco-Quebecois rock opera written in the mid-1970s. Before his death in 1986, it was sung by Daniel Balavoine and it was intended to describe the 'descent' onto the city centre of a group of violent suburban gang-members in the not-too-distant future. Inscribed within these lyrics is the violence, the image of chaos and the representation of a core and its dangerous periphery. This type of imagery commonly haunts the stigmatized neighbourhoods that have come to be known generically as the *banlieues*. It is through texts such as this one, mundane as they may seem, that the *banlieues* are today constituted as

¹³ This is a familiar term that is linked to the idea of the *banlieue* as 'zone' (Fourcaut 1993). *Zonard*, or 'zoner', can thus be equated to *banlieue* resident. The word zone has also been transformed into a verb: to zone, *zoner*, is a colloquial way to mean 'hanging around', signifying as it does that *banlieues* residents do just that all day. This is, as I show in chapter 3, inherited from the language of urban policy that has instituted the notion of *la zone* (sensitive, priority education, priority urbanisation, etc...) with reference to specific neighbourhoods (see Vulbeau 2002).

places of insecurity. Although the *banlieues* have not always been represented in the singular form – as '*la banlieue*' instead of the plural, '*les banlieues*' – the images that accompanied portrayals of the working class peripheries that gradually took shape around France's larger cities from the Industrial Revolution onwards have practically always been loaded with connotations of marginality and constituted as threats (Fourcaut *et al.* 2007). The smog and the absence of paved streets have been depicted in the artistic portrayals of painters, while now classic texts of famous writers established links between harsh environments and the lives of residents. For the characters of Emile Zola's novels, alcohol abuse and disease are associated evils that come with the burden of living in industrial *banlieues* and Louis-Ferdinand Céline's suburban dwellers rarely see the sun from their grey towns and their muddy, filthy homes (see Papieau 1997).

There exist a number of works that deal explicitly with the representations that have led to the image of a homogeneous *banlieue*, separate and different from its city of attachment (Adell and Capodano 2001; Amorim 2002; Faure 2006; Fourcaut 1993; Ireland 2004; Rey 1996). Others have expressly written about the differences between areas described and designated as *banlieues* while pointing to the diversity (of ethnic background, age or income levels) that exists within each of these spaces (Pan Ké Shon 2010; Paquot 2008; Vieillard-Baron 1998, 2005, 2008). There is also an important body of literature that focuses its attention on *cités* - housing estates - that are located in the Parisian *banlieues*. Within these incredibly different cities and their neighbourhoods, specific housing estates have become important hubs of scrutiny. For instance, Wacquant (2008a), Sauvadet (2006), Jamin (2004) and Avery (1987) all worked on the *Cité des 4000*, a housing estate in La Courneuve to the North of Paris, that seems to have become a paradigm for thinking stigmatisation, the effects of urban policy, youth violence and socialisation in 'poverty neighbourhoods'. Although the Parisian *banlieues* are upheld as paradigmatic examples and sites from where generalisations can be made about other areas, some scholars have attempted to push our attention to the housing estates of the '*Province*', a term that designates any place outside the Parisian region, urban or otherwise. Dikeç (2007a) conducted fieldwork in the *banlieues* of Lyon, Villechaise (1997, 2000) in those of Bordeaux, Begag (1995) in Avignon and Bekouchi

(1984) in housing estates located outside Nantes. In all of these texts, stigmatisation is deciphered and explained historically.

There have also been comparative perspective on territorial stigmatisation in France. For instance, Bacqué and Sintomer (2001) provide a study of neighbourhood affiliation and disaffiliation in two *banlieues* towns located outside the city of Paris. Of great importance for this thesis, the previously cited works all focus their attention on housing estates that are located within 'real' *banlieues*. The researchers spent time in *cités* that are found in towns within the suburban periphery of a larger city. As such, Nîmes' housing estates stand out as they are located within the administrative limits of the city and as such, they count as housing estates but not *banlieues*, even if they are constituted as such¹⁴. A similar type of configuration can be found in Marseille, and Direche-Slimani and Le Houérou (2002), K. Mitchell (2011) and Roudil (2011) have helped to explain the interactions and relationships between the Mediterranean city, its internal *cités* and the residents of these places. My hope is that my thesis will provide a contribution to this type of literature while moving away from well known examples such as Marseille that count as paradigmatic when it comes to studying housing estate neighbourhoods located within large cities.

To be stigmatised is to carry a burden, it is to bear a mark (Goffman 1963) or a label (Becker 1991 [1963]). Fundamentally, to be stigmatised means that one is defined and perceived to be different and thus excluded from full acceptance in society. Stigmatised individuals and groups are often marginalised and cast out of society's most visible places. The policies that they inspire can only confirm this fact. A first step in our understandings of place and stigma needs to consider the idea of being out of place. For instance, Don Mitchell (1997) has examined anti-homeless laws in the United States that make begging and panhandling illegal in certain spaces. Neil Smith (1996) has commented on the eviction of over fifty homeless people from Tomkins Square Park, making the argument that sites reserved for the affluent are being 'cleansed' of those who do not fit in. He speaks of 'revanchism' when he describes the heavy handed policing and often violent attacks on the homeless 'others', actions that

¹⁴ This is discussed in chapter 4.

are described as allowing for increased neighbourhood security. Studies such as these have greatly expanded our understandings of what happens to the stigmatised 'others' when they are not in their 'right' place, often leading to metaphorical descriptions of 'out-of-placeness' (Cresswell 1997: 334). Geography is ideally suited for helping to expose the complex relations between people and place that end up creating situations where individuals are excluded from specific spaces, and a great many contributions have enabled our better understanding of these dynamics (e.g. Cresswell 1996; Herbert 2011; Kitchin 1998; Németh 2006; Sibley 1981, 1992, 1995; S.J. Smith 1987, 1993; Takahashi 1997; Takahashi *et al.* 2002; van Kempen and Özüekren 1998).

The work of social psychology has also greatly contributed to our uncovering why and how individuals and groups come to be stigmatised. Whether as in the above examples, because they are homeless (Phelan *et al.* 1997), drug-users (Room 2005) or because they are known to be carriers of disease (Herek and Glunt 1988), people in these studies inevitably come to experience spaces in which they are not welcome and at times, they retreat into areas where they are less burdened by the marks of stigma that they carry. Studying the bearers of stigma requires careful attention to the ways that the often devastating consequences can at times be managed and to how the stigmatised cope with everyday life. Similarly, conduct that is deemed inappropriate in public places leads us to consider those who perform these actions whatever they may be. This, in turn, leads us to consider the marginalised who occupy space and resist the spatial assignment that they believe to have been imposed upon them (Cumbers *et al.* 2010; DeVerteuil *et al.* 2009; Flusty 2000; hooks 1990; Pardo 1998; Savransky 2012; Young 2003). In this light, it is important for social science to consider the possibility that this weight may be unloaded, displaced, negotiated, forgotten, inversed and even resisted. It is important to ask whether the stigmatised move beyond the categories that are attributed to them by dominant groups. I ask whether it is conceivable that stigmatised individuals or groups can transform a label that outsiders have constituted as negative into a mark that is given subjective value as a source of pride.

This chapter aims to establish a conceptual framework in order to best analyse the ethnographic data that I introduce in the empirical chapters of this thesis. I introduce a

number of concepts and theoretical insights that can be useful in both explaining how stigmatisation comes about and how it can be negotiated by those who are its victims. The purpose is not to present a 'populist' version of resistance to stigmatisation (see Tilly 1991) but rather to elucidate the various ways in which the idea of resistance has been deployed in academic writings. This has relevance to the study of territorial stigmatisation and its consequences since it will help to highlight that the victims of negative labels are not passive victims. As I have already stated, it is most definitely not my ambition to paint a rosy and idealised picture of stigmatised populations who possess the power to break with stigmatic representations. Indeed, I am concerned not to paint a portrait of marginalised populations that would stand alongside theoretical elaborations of 'resistance-as-victory'. The thesis examines the various ways through which people live with and sometimes try to displace the burden of territorial stigmatisation. The conceptual contribution of the thesis begs us to move beyond deterministic academic depictions of the urban poor as essentially powerless in the face of neoliberal urbanism. However, it does not advance the idea that the negotiation of stigma is in itself enough. As such, this chapter brings to light the often controversial and conflicting theories that can serve as a basis for understanding both the foundations of stigmatisation and the agency of populations who are its targets. I wish to explore the variety of approaches that have contributed to current understandings of agency in the face of unequal power relations (e.g. A. Allen 1999; McNay 2000; Pégram 2011). Although references to several geographical locations will be made in order to push through the idea that territorial stigmatisation is an important issue in every context, I will make more frequent reference to the French so-called *banlieues* and to the housing estates that are located within them.

The first major part of the chapter examines the meaning of stigmatisation as it has been discussed and understood through a variety of social scientific disciplines. I also review some of the literature that has led to the study of territorial stigmatisation and talk about the intellectual context in which these approaches were produced. The idea of territorial stigmatisation carries with it an understanding that some cities or places within a city are regarded as 'different' (Fincher and Jacobs 1998), 'Other' (Huyssen 2008), or 'on the margins' (Shields 1992), and this has led a number of geographers, with their interest in space and

place, to study these multiple geographies of exclusion and the symbolic dimension of urban marginality (Johnson and Coleman 2012; Sibley 1995). The final part of this chapter addresses the highly controversial concept of resistance. In order to make clear that my analysis of the empirical data was not conducted with a lens that 'romanticises resistance' (Abu-Lughod 1990; see also Brown 1996; Ortner 2006: ch. 2), I will discuss the possibility of contesting stigmatisation through transgression, subversion, negotiation and coping in the context of the everyday. Resistance to stereotypes and abjection of the revolting 'other' has been astutely investigated by Imogen Tyler (2013) and this reminds us that the 'Other' is not mute (see Nader 2010). Here, I refer to Lüdtke's (1986, 1996, 2000) notion of *Eigensinn* (obstinacy), James C. Scott's (1989, 1990) notion of 'hidden transcripts' and Katz's (2004) "three R's" of 'resilience', 'reworking' and 'resistance' to show that there is scope to discuss acts that challenge stigmatic representations without necessarily considering that these will lead to emancipation (e.g. Tyler 2013; Vienne 2005). I explain that, although the idea of 'rituals of resistance' has been criticised, there is still space to talk of the negotiation of stigmatic representations which allow for the urban poor to be considered as active agents, even as these negotiations do not necessarily free them from the constraints of stigma. Notwithstanding, these everyday actions, rewritings of the common sense texts that determines what is and isn't outside the norm, provide spaces of symbolic resistance to the victims of stigmatisation.

2.2 - Stigma and stigmatisation

This section is comprised of three parts. The first traces the origins of the idea of stigma and briefly examines conceptualisations of it. In the second part, I look at stigma and deviance and argue that, although there are minor differences between the meanings of each term, they are both in part constituted in order to reproduce the solidarities that exist within the dominant or majority group. The 'Other' that mainstream society and constructed 'communities' rely upon in order to redefine their collective selves elicits feelings of fear and anxiety. This explains the fixating of moral boundaries between an 'us' and a 'them'. However, it is also argued that 'Others' lead to a certain level of fascination and desire, in

part because of their vital role in providing a basis for societal solidarity. This ambivalence is the topic of the third part of this section.

2.2.1 - The mark of stigma

In Ancient Greece, stigmas were the burden of slaves, criminals or traitors. Their skin would be marked with a tattoo or a burn, thus rendering their status visible to all within that society. They would be condemned to walk among the non-stigmatised as 'Others' and outcasts. Erving Goffman (1963: 11) states that the bodily signs were intended to "expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier". These bodily signs would give immediate social information about a person and the attribute would disqualify the individual from the public sphere (Göle 2005: 122). These marks have a certain loaded significance that is important for how we conceptualise stigma today: it is easy to imagine that those bearing the *stigma* would have attempted to hide them from public view whenever possible. Today 'stigma' has lost its original meaning and is applied more to "the disgrace itself than the bodily evidence of it" (Goffman 1963: 11). However, this does not imply that stigmatising attributes cannot be hidden, and indeed, they frequently are (Dovidio et al. 2000; Frable et al. 1998; Howarth 2006; Inzlicht et al. 2006; Quinn 2008).

Goffman's frequently referenced analysis makes note of the fact that there are three types of stigma. He lists these as the 'abominations of the body' (physical deformities), 'blemishes of the individual character' (alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, mental disorders or radical political beliefs) and the "tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion, these being stigma that can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of the family" (Goffman 1963: 14). Since the publication of his seminal work, the social sciences often refer to the idea of stigmata, of stigma and stigmatisation when referring to a part of the population that is excluded, not recognised or humiliated through regular stereotyping, verbal violence and cultural prejudices (Heatherton et al. 2000). Stigma has been related to negative evaluations of personal characteristics, although it is not synonymous with them (Dovidio et al. 2000: 4). Frable (1993) has compared stigmatisation to the notion of

‘marginalisation’ and Archer (1985) has highlighted the strong links that the concept has with that of ‘deviance’. For Crocker, Major and Steele (1998), “stigmatized individuals possess (or are believed to possess) some attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a social identity that is *devalued in a particular context*” (p.505, my emphasis). Finally, Bernat and Davidio (2000) state that the major negative impact of stigmatisation has little to do with the mark itself and the physical manifestation of it, but its consequences are both essentially psychological and social. Here, I will argue that they are also spatial and material.

Irwin Katz (1988) wrote one of the seminal works on stigma from a social psychological perspective. From this initial work, different focuses have emerged within the discipline, on race (Twenge and Crocker 2002), gender (Brown and Pinel 2003), class (Croizet and Claire 1998), sexual preference (Herek 2000), disability (Hebl and Kleck 2000; Thomas 1978), mental illness (Crisp et al. 2000), homelessness (Phelan et al. 1997), age (Zebrowitz and Montepare 2000), divorce (Gerstel 1987), and alcohol and drug use (Room 2005). There have also been successful attempts to conduct meta-analyses that include several of the stigmatised categories in an effort to decipher the links between identities and social category systems. Deborah Frable (1997) has thus attempted to move beyond the idea that each stigmatised group might systematically exclude others. She adopts a longitudinal methodology that gives space to the multiple identities of individuals and groups. Her work insists on the fluid and multidimensional nature of racial, sexual, ethnic, gender and class identities. This approach is very much at the heart of Goffman’s *Stigma* (1963), which covers a multitude of categories of stigma in an effort to decipher how these are concealed or managed, but also ‘adopted’ in a manner that one might refer to as pride.

The sources of societal condemnation that are listed above demonstrate that whatever the reasons for stigmatisation at any given time, they are all constituted as such within a particular context. *All marks of stigma have socio-historic roots*¹⁵. Indeed, ‘attributes of

¹⁵ There are stigmas that can be found in most human cultures and groupings and these include the attributes of being a “poor partner for social exchange” (e.g. a convict), carrying a parasitic infection (e.g. leprosy or any other type of physical deformation and (importantly), “being a member of an outgroup that can be exploited for ingroup gain” (Major and O’Brien 2005:395).

stigma', as Goffman calls them, change and evolve over time. Gerhard Falk (2001) has said of stigma that it "has a temporal quality. This means that something stigmatized at one time may not be stigmatized at another time" (p. 25). Social psychologists agree that *the stigmatising process is relational and contextual*, and they contend that a condition labelled as discrediting or deviant by one person may be viewed as benign and "a charming eccentricity" by another person, at another time or in another place (Jones *et al.* 1984: 5; Frable 1993, 1997).

Regardless of *when* it develops, stigma is an attribute that is deeply discrediting and that reduces those who bear it "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman 1963: 3). Society regards an individual or a group as deviant and/or different and "the reaction of others spoils normal identity" (*ibid.*). The idea of stigmatisation resulting in an ultimately 'spoiled identity' is a central one for Goffman. It implies that the stigmatised person is disqualified from full participation and full social acceptance in society or within a specific in-group (see also Falk 2001: 20; Levin and van Laar 2008).

In their attempt to conceptualise stigma, Link and Phelan (2001) discuss the difference between a form of stigma with adverse affects and one that does not affect the stigmatised group or individual. Their claim is that stigmatisation cannot occur without power relations. Their example is that of a clinic for people with "a serious mental illness". In this environment, the doctors have the power to make reference to 'patients', using a term that is itself a label that then allows for further labelling and control. However, labelling by the group of patients of a member of staff as an incapable pill-pusher who doesn't deserve conversation does not have lasting effects on this person: "The patients simply do not possess the social, cultural, economic, and political power to imbue their cognitions about staff with serious discriminatory consequences" (Link and Phelan 2001: 376; see also Philo 2007). The key is that discriminatory practices that are the consequences of stigma are the result of taken-for-granted social categorisations of the world (see Foucault 2003). Whether or not a staff member in a clinic is the subject of mocking by mental health patients does not constitute a form of discrimination. Denying access to certain types of employment to those who have been constituted as 'disable', or when their access to buildings is limited by the

architecture that was designed by non-disabled people, discrimination is more evident and the social consequence are immediately observable (Hansen and Philo 2007; see also Fine and Ash 1988; Hebl and Kleck 2000). Ultimately, social psychology has provided extremely useful data relating to how people cope under conditions of stigmatisation. Researchers in the discipline certainly stress the negative 'stigma effects' that affect both the ego and the capacity for self-definition that come hand in hand with stigmatisation (Inzlicht *et al.* 2006). However, research results also stress the ability that agents have of manipulating certain psychological structures. These works should be read alongside geographical literature on marginality and the ascription of spatial identities as they open the possibility that negative representations of neighbourhoods can, at the very least, be negotiated by those who live inside them.

2.2.2 - The stigmatised other and societal solidarity

Norms are now understood as social and cultural constructs (Geertz 2003 [1973]). This leads to an understanding of *deviance, like stigma, as a condition that is situated in time and spatially located*. At any one time, non-conformance to a set of norms will lead individuals or groups to be perceived as deviant. Thus, a mental health physician in an 'asylum' is in a position to, and has the right to, attach labels to his patients. Labels such as 'mentally ill' constitute people as 'abnormal', and as such, position patients in situations of deviancy (Goffman 1991 [1961]; see also Hacking 2004). Indeed, anyone considered as 'sick' or 'ill' stands outside the established norm and is thus categorised and labelled through the mark difference, even a temporary one. Stigmatisation occurs when a deviant attribute leads to the devaluing or 'tainting' of an individual or group. Being associated to the attribute can often lead to the rejection of the stigmatised from society. The negative stereotypes that are ascribed to the deviant attribute lead to discriminatory attitudes and prejudiced behaviours that further reinforce the social unacceptability of the stigmatised (Scheyett 2007; see also Jones et al. 1984).

The high levels of unemployment of youths residing in French housing estates is an illustration of this. They are said to lead deviant lives because they live in stigmatised neighbourhoods and are unemployed: as such they stand outside the 'norm'. As a result of a series of discursive practices that are inextricably linked to relations of power, negative stereotypes affix themselves to both the neighbourhood and to the youths. Determined from outside by those who are 'normals', to use a Goffmanian expression, these constitute *cit  *-youths as 'lazy' and 'layabouts' who prefer to 'live off welfare' rather than find a job. As such, the deviant attribute of 'unemployment' takes on a heavy symbolic charge in the case of youth from *cit  s* that it would not acquire when applied to other categories of people. This is because *cit  * youths are stigmatised as lazy and as people who do not respond well to authority (Derville 1997a; Castel 2006; Longhi 2012; Sauvadet 2006b; Sedel 2011b). It leads to further discriminatory practices from potential employers, or from actual employers who treat these youths differently¹⁶. There is a clear link between such situations and Robert K. Merton's theoretical elaboration of 'self-fulfilling prophecies' that help to perpetuate a "reign of error" (Merton 1948: 175). Charles Tilly describes self-fulfilling prophecies as a bundle of mechanisms that allow in-groups to successfully keep alive the inferiority that is attributed to members of out-groups (Tilly 2010: 57; see also Elias and Scotson 1994 [1965]; Jussim *et al.* 2000). For Becker, this has consequences in the sense that stigmatic explanations that are given by dominant groups will be later used by those that are labelled as the deviants to explain their own behaviours: "instead of the deviant motives leading to the deviant behavior, it is the other way around; the deviant behavior in time produces the deviant motives" (Becker [1963]: 42).

Howard Becker's contribution to the sociology of deviance is essential in bettering our understanding of processes of mental boundary making. His examination of what he calls

¹⁶ On one occasion, an interviewee was approached by a young man during our talk in the Pissevin's library. The interviewee is a man of some importance in the neighbourhood as he is involved in local politics and has a long list of contacts. The youth came asking for legal advice as he had been proposed the same temporary work contract as an industrial cleaner for the fourth time even as the renewal of these contracts is allowed only once. The interviewee explained that this type of abuse was common for youths in Pissevin who are deemed unable to defend themselves and are too scared to let go of a regular wage considering the scarcity of jobs that are available on the local market.

'outsiders' through the lives of jazz musicians and marijuana-users has led to the development of 'labelling theory'. Becker states that:

"social groups create deviance by making rules whose infraction creates deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. [...] [D]eviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label" (Becker 1991 [1963]: 9, emphasis in original).

One such example, to which I come back later in this thesis, has to do with the way that labels affix themselves to many of Nîmes' housing estate residents when they occupy public spaces, regardless of their age or gender. Once it is decontextualised, the idea that people may wish to exit their homes in order to spend time outside is perfectly understandable considering the weather in this region, with over 300 days of sun per year and very high temperatures for more than half the year. Few apartments have the luxury of air conditioning. As such, many residents decide to spend long hours outside with neighbours. Children play while adults of all ages sit and talk or drink tea and coffee. Sociability of this sort would not be frowned upon in other neighbourhoods yet the labels of 'unemployed', 'idle' and that of '*banlieue* resident' attach themselves to any scene that involves estate residents when they occupy the public areas of their neighbourhoods (see Bacqué and Sintomer 1999; Duret 1996; Hargreaves 1994). As such, the labelling process determines that some acts are deviant in some spaces while they can be regarded as normal in others. This is a consequence of the partial state of exception that has clamped down on French social housing neighbourhoods (Massiah 2005; Vidal 2006). Labelling has real consequences on policing and the on the increased securitisation of places perceived to be *banlieues* but also, as I show later, on their residents (Boucher *et al.* 2013; Mohammed and Mucchielli 2006; Oblet 2008).

What Becker's work has allowed for is a furthering of Émile Durkheim's famous studies of deviance. Durkheim's focus has been on what deviance might *bring* to society (1982 [1895]).

By contrast to work that views stigma and deviance as reinforcing the fragmentation of society, Durkheim sees deviance as facilitating the establishment of a sense of community and the reinforcing of societal norms. In *The Rules of Sociological Method*, Durkheim appears resolute that any society will find its own deviants, and makes the oft-quoted claim that:

“Imagine a community of saints in an exemplary and perfect monastery. In it, crime as such will be unknown, but faults that appear venial to the ordinary person will arouse the same scandal that does normal crime in ordinary consciences. If therefore that community has the power to judge and punish, it will term such acts criminal and deal with them as such” (Durkheim 1982 [1895]: 100).

Two slightly different points can be extracted from this definition. First, in producing the category of the criminal, communities attach labels of deviance to the fault itself. However, there is something more at work here where deviance and stigmatisation become the basis for creating a different kind of solidarity through a furthering of the distinction between 'us' and 'them'. This step is an important one as it creates an 'Other'. A little over a century later, Falk demonstrates that the stigmatisation of the few still has the power to unite the many. The latter are usually members of a dominant group. Borrowing the language of Durkheim he states that:

“[u]nity is provided to any collectivity by uniting against those who are seen as a common threat to the social order and the morality of a group. Consequently, the stigma and *the stigmatization of some persons demarcates a boundary* that reinforces the conduct of conformists. Therefore, *a collective sense of morality is achieved by the creation of stigma and stigmatization and deviance*” (Falk 2001: 18, my emphasis).

Insisting as he does that stigma and deviance operate in similar ways with similar consequences, Falk underlines the importance of a moral boundary. Solidarity is enhanced within this boundary and it appears to be threatened by groups who do not quite fit into it

and whose place seems to be confined to 'the other side' ¹⁷. It must be stressed that this is not a natural boundary but a perceptual one: it is only through some social construction and stratification that groups are understood to be different (Gibson 1998; Gruner 2010; Massey 1996; Stangor and Crandall 2000). Schur (1980, 1984) explains that what is classified as deviant or different results from a profoundly *political* construction, imagined and developed through power relations. The categories of difference that are privileged in these constructions clearly evolve. Interestingly however, as I show in the fifth chapter, the so-called *banlieues* have for hundreds of years been imagined as places in which deviant groups proliferate. This is of great significance for the study of territorial stigmatisation.

Identifying differences and similarities with respect to others is part of a general mechanism of categorising our social surroundings (Blokland 2003: 62; Tajfel 1981). Individuals are thus grouped according to characteristics that are considered objective and realistic (Berger and Luckmann 1991: 71). Blokland (2003: 63) insists that the foundation for affection and affinity needs to be constituted as meaningful and she states that "[a]ttribution of meaning drives the creation of bonds and distinctions between 'we' and 'they'" (*ibid.*). Reece Jones (2010) uses a metaphor in claiming that "categories are containers" but insists on the fact that "research into categorization should be less concerned with the stuff inside the categories and emphasize instead boundaries and boundary-making process that delimit the categories shaping understanding" (p. 264).

The study of those who are excluded can reveal what Nilüfer Göle (2005: 23) has referred to as a 'social elsewhere' (*un ailleurs social*) and this, in turn, serves to uncover general understandings and perceptions of what it might mean to be part of the 'core', however imaginary this may be. Locating this centre allows us to place the boundaries discussed by Falk (2001) and to understand the relationship that dominant and dominated groups have with each other. This being said, Julia Kristeva (1991) reminds us that the boundaries between these groups is not only flexible and porous, it also the source of contact and as such, of potential 'contagion'. This conceptualisation allows us to deconstruct the often

¹⁷ This is explored in detail in chapter 6 of this thesis; see also Claire Hancock (2008) for a detailed exploration of othering and moral boundaries in France.

binary oppositions that exist between peripheral members of a society and those that are said to constitute its centre, and who usually belong to the group(s) that have the power to name and categorise¹⁸. What is more, it allows us to better understand how marginal, stigmatised 'others' become labelled in ways that further the possibility of 'majority/dominant-group' survival while recreating solidarities that are built against this very 'other' (see Douglas 2002 [1966]). The need for an 'other' is the source of a number of ambivalent attitudes towards stigmatised groups that range from fascination and desire to disgust, revulsion and abjection (see Ahmed 2000, 2005; Corbin 1996 [1986]; Tyler 2013).

2.2.3 - The stigmatised category and ambivalence

In the first two subsections, I have presented an either/or view of stigma and society, but other approaches treat stigma with more ambivalence, recognising that the effects of stigma cannot be fully determined (Green 2009; Miller and Kaiser 2001; Miller and Major 2000; Pan Ké Shon 2007; Tyler 2013; Vienne 2005). Stigma puts people in relation with each other in ways in which power and public standing are evident. Durkheim stresses the importance of the deviant group for enabling the solidarity of the majority group. Clearly, this constructed deviance becomes a source of fascination and quickly, attempts to understand it, to measure it and to control it develop. Deviance therefore, can become the subject the of scientific enquiry (Wolch and Philo 2000) while difference and deviant subcultures can become exoticised (Prus and Grills 2003)¹⁹. Rather than readings of stigma that privilege either fracturing or enabling solidarity, some see the relationship as profoundly ambiguous, ambivalent and as one that can provide resources to the stigmatised groups, in the form of increased sociability for example (Armagnague 2012; Pan Ké Shon 2005, 2007, 2010). This is made explicit in Bacqué and Sintomer (2001) where the *banlieue* is described as both a place of affiliation ('*affiliation*') and separateness ('*désaffiliation*'). As such, living in a housing estate can be productive in two senses: it can lead to feelings of anxiety while it can also allow for networks to form under the pressure of the stigmatising gaze. The benefits of living

¹⁸ Mustafa Dikeç (2007a) has efficiently demonstrated how this applies to the category of '*banlieue*'.

¹⁹ This is at the heart of Eward Said's *Orientalism* (2003 [1978]).

in a stigmatised neighbourhood may further the processes of marginalisation and repression but they can easily be overlooked. Here, my ambition is to push for an understanding of stigma as incredibly harmful, while keeping in mind the agency of stigmatised groups and individuals.

In reference to the division between 'male' and 'female' that allow the first category to exercise control over the other, Simone de Beauvoir refers to the fact that "woman remains always the Other" (1997 [1949]: 199). Her declaration at the outset of the fourth chapter of *The Second Sex* that "[o]ne is not born, rather one becomes, a woman" (1997 [1949]: 295) reiterates the idea that categories are created and brought into existence before they can become 'naturalised'. Her argument follows that one has to *learn* to be a woman, and this is imposed by men who implement the control over the 'norms' that being a woman entail: femininity, marriage, motherhood, domesticity, and so on. Along with being constituted as a perpetual Other come a whole range of stigmatising expectations that have prevented women from achieving the same status as men in western societies. In every domain apart from the home, women have been made to feel, and are treated as, inferior (Chiwengo 2003). What Simone de Beauvoir underlines is the double bind of this relationship. Indeed, both genders are jointly responsible for the ongoing exploitation of women, yet both would ultimately be freer were equality reached (see also Schur 1984). This relationship is central to the ways in which stigma and stigmatisation can be understood as one of supposed necessity. As a woman, Simone de Beauvoir refuses to come second to the male subject and she notes that without a 'second sex', the whole binary relationship between male/female, man/woman, must inevitably dissolve. As Paul Ricoeur (1992: 4) put it, "one cannot be thought of without the other". Within the stigmatic relationship there is a co-construction and a double bind. This is another confirmation that the 'other' allows for the consolidation of in-group solidarities. This leads to questions about what the city-centre would be without its *banlieue*? Would the city still be 'historic' if it was not for the relatively contemporary modernist architecture of French housing estates?

Once again, these questions lead us to consider the idea of a core and of a periphery, which echoes with the concerns of postcolonialism. If Simone de Beauvoir has been of huge

influence to feminists, her work was also important to 'postcolonial theorists' (Golay 2007; Julien Murphy 1995; Roy 2003). Broadly, they have attempted to dissect the complex relationships and encounters between 'colonisers' and the '(de)colonised' (e.g. Fanon 1963; Memmi 2003 [1957]; Nandy 2006 [1983]; Todorov 1982; see also Hiddleston 2009) as well as the ways in which these imperial relations have been reproduced and self-perpetuating through culture (Said 1994; 2003 [1978]) and education (Conklin 2000). These texts elaborate on the gender and class dimensions of otherness and highlight the other categorisations that are created within these differences: the 'other' is *also* the 'migrant', the stranger and the foreigner (Memmi 2004). bell hooks (1986) details the ways in which these ways of being other are not mutually exclusive and she discusses the possibility of double stigmatisation that she illustrates with the example of the 'black woman', a sub-category, a double label of inferiority. The existence of multiple layers of stigma for those who reside in French housing estates is common. Indeed, not only are they constituted as the Lumpenproletariat (unemployed and unemployable) but they are also imagined as the ethnic '*minorités visibles*' on top of being *cité*-dwellers by those who have the power to construct reality through enunciation and categorisation (see Al-Bulushi 2012; Boubeker 2009, 2010).

It has been argued that those in a position to stigmatise are both fearful of the stigmatised, while they simultaneously preserve and maintain some kind of curiosity, desire or fascination (Butler 1987). For instance, bell hooks (1992) suggests that, along with a pervasive white supremacist ideology in America, white males have a desire to 'conquer' the bodies of African American women. While insisting that this would apply to other forms of stigmatisation, Stuart Hall (1978, 1992) also details the ways in which *racism operates through both hatred and desire*. The unsteadiness between desire and conquest or desire and fear/hatred has been contextualised within the colonial relationship (Stoler 1995; R. Young 1995) as well as the post-colonial one (Bouamama and Tévanian 2005; Yala 2005). The high viewer ratings of television shows such as *The Wire* are an important illustration in this respect. They appear to transpose an 'authentic' part of the African American ghetto into the viewers' homes while allowing those same viewers to maintain a safe distance with the truly stigmatised (Parker 2010). Once again, this keeps the boundary between an 'us' and

a 'them' fixed spatially and socially, and yet the fascination and the desire to know more and understand this foreign other is constantly re-activated. The same can be said about white, middle-class French adolescents who adopt the ways of *banlieues* youth in both dress and talk (Duchêne 1999; Tijé-Dra 2012). Schama and Schama (2000) and Siciliano (2007) talk of the fascination that such films as *La Haine* (1995) or *Ma 6-T Va Crack-er* (1997) have for those who do not usually venture into French housing estates. The allure for others and other places is also present in the often sensationalist television programmes that 'cover the other', whoever that Other may be (Alderman 1997; Avraham and First 2006; Hayward and Majid 2006; Said 1997 [1981]).

Borrowed from Mary Douglas' (2002 [1966]) research on 'dirt' and 'purity' as well as from the psychoanalytical theories of Julia Kristeva (1984), the concept of abjection can be useful in explaining the underlying processes of stigmatisation and their consequences. The abject is linked to what is unclean or improper. Judith Butler (1993) gives one of the most concise and comprehensible definitions of abjection: abjection (in latin [sic], *ab-jicere*) literally means to cast off, away, or out, and hence presupposes and produces a domain of agency from which it is differentiated (p. 243). Interestingly, Butler makes use of a spatial metaphor to further explain the concept of abjection when she says that there are 'abject zones' that lead to the threat of the 'dissolution of the subject itself' and thus to psychosis. These represent "zones of uninhabitability which a subject fantasises as threatening its own integrity with the prospect of psychotic dissolution" (Butler 1993: 243). It is not overly far reaching to extrapolate on the links between stigma and the concept of abjection and on how this might lead us to consider the idea of 'abject *space*' (Bousfield 2000) that can, in turn, help us in further understanding the notion of *territorial* stigmatisation that I explore below and throughout this thesis.

Kristeva (1991) locates the fear and hostility towards strangers in the externalisation of unwanted aspects of the self onto the other, perpetually replicating the fixation of boundaries between the inner and the outer. Judith Butler claims that:

"What constitutes through division the "inner" and "outer" worlds of the subject is a border and boundary tenuously maintained for the purpose of social

regulation and control. The boundary between the inner and outer is confounded by those excremental passages in which the inner effectively becomes outer, and this excreting function becomes, as it were, the model by which other forms of identity-differentiation are accomplished. In effect, this is the mode by which Others become shit" (Butler 2008 [1990]): 170).

Imogen Tyler's wonderful book on *Revolting Subjects* (2013) allows for a popularising of our understanding of *social* abjection, exploring the process through which specific populations are constituted as 'revolting'. Importantly, the places in which they reside is also thought of in this way. 'Chavs' inhabit 'hideous' housing estates while gypsies render unsightly the land on which they squat 'illegally'. 'Inner' and 'outer' are spatial distinctions that facilitate fantasies between feared and desired. They make sense only when one thinks of them alongside a mediating body or boundary that strives for stability. This stability and coherence is determined in large part by cultural orders that sanction the subject and compel its differentiation from the abject. "Hence 'inner' and 'outer' constitute a binary opposition that stabilizes and consolidates the coherent subject" (Butler 2008 [1990]: pp. 170-171). This allows us to bear in mind the relationship that exists between periphery ('outer') and centre ('inner') and the ways it is conceptualised and defined via dominant discourses. The pure central city space is defined in opposition to the existence of an inferior, and sometimes defiled, outer city space. Hence the ambivalent relationship between stigmatised and stigmatiser that operates much as do the 'self' and the 'other' in the theorisations above. The stigmatised space exerts considerable interest to those who wish to map and classify it, highlighting such areas as different and in need of control. How does one cope with the knowledge that one is excluded and confined to the 'outer' space, to the metaphorical and spatial margins of the city (and of society)? The following section addresses stigmatisation that is inflicted spatially.

2.3 - Territorial Stigmatisation

I now turn to the relationship between stigma and place and discuss the costs that this has for those who are residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods within urban environments. Territorial stigmatisation affects those who reside within neighbourhoods that are perceived as threatening or peripheral. It is hard to say whether such areas become socially constructed as noxious (and thus become further deprived) because their residents are already stigmatised as a group due to their poverty levels, their minority ethnic belonging, religious affiliation or political affiliation. Suffice it to say that the stigma of residing in a certain place is often layered onto pre-existing marks of stigmatisation²⁰. This has very real material costs as well as psychological ones. Here, I briefly develop the notion of segregation before I explain the social constitution of 'landscapes of immorality' in a variety of different contexts. I then discuss advanced urban marginality and I detail how it is understood as a process that is imbued with self-perpetuation. This, in turn, opens up the possibility of coping and potentially resisting territorial stigmatisation in ways that may well prevent the total dissolution of solidarities in neighbourhoods that suffer from the blemish of place.

2.3.1 - A word about segregation

Social spatial segregation is the consequence of people residing in different parts of the city. According to Robert E. Park (1952), it is defined as an interaction between social differentiation and spatial distance. There is little doubt that there is some ambiguity as to the precise definition of segregation but in most of the contexts in which it is used, it refers to the residential concentration of social or ethnic groups in specific neighbourhoods. In other terms, segregation is a form of spatial clustering, which "seems to be an inevitable accompaniment of urban life" (Marcuse 2005: 15). Nightingale (2012) reminds his readers that segregating strangers and creating 'scapegoat ghettos' has ancestral roots. The spatial processes that enable clustering are numerous but crucially, some are voluntary or socially

²⁰ One could add working in a specific place (see Peck 1996: 71).

acceptable and others are involuntary (gated communities as opposed to ghettos, for instance). Peter Marcuse defines segregation as:

"a clustering that is involuntary, or better yet, hierarchical (i.e., derived from a ranking system that reflects superiority based on wealth, status, or power), is generally objectionable and should be countered by public policy measures" (Marcuse 2005: 15).

Research on segregation has generally focussed on the consequences that this process has on the quality of life and social conditions of the segregated groups. Studies such as Eva van Kempen's (1994) or John Mollenkopf and Manuel Castells (1991) privilege the idea of a 'dual' city, in which the urban poor are separated from the dominant group. Van Kempen and Özüekren (1998) argue that positive and negative consequences emanate from this and that these are dependent on whether clustering has been enforced or whether it was voluntary. Skifter Andersen (2003) believes it is more relevant to speak of 'social spatial segregation'. He states that "segregation is a spatial separation of ethnic or socially different groups leading to increasing social or cultural differences between these groups" (p.13).

The classical explanation for segregation has been defined as the ecological model of the city. This postulates that separation and social division are the result of a ring structure around the urban core. The richest parts of the urban population settle the furthest away from the city centre and the poorest, nearer to the central area (Burgess 1925). Skifter Andersen (2003: 18-21) argues that there is a need to move beyond the classical model and he lists three more explanations for segregation. These include the demographic explanation (for example, the elderly rarely move from their home), the effects of housing policy and physical planning (social housing is built where the land is cheaper and less attractive), discrimination in the housing market (for instance, referring immigrants to the least attractive neighbourhoods [see Huttman *et al.*]) and the systems in place for allocating social housing. The latter explanation is particularly applicable to the French context. Indeed, waiting lists for social housing are often long and people who are able to solve their acute housing problems end up not waiting for their turn to come. Only those who have no other

possibility than to rely on social housing remain on waiting lists and furthermore, the apartments that become vacant are often located in neighbourhoods that are thought of as least attractive (this is relevant in the case of Nîmes, as chapter 6 explains).

After the influential work of the Chicago School of Sociology, a lot of work on segregation has been done in a US context (e.g. Varady 2005: part II; Wacquant 2008a). A focus of some work has been on the ghetto as socio-spatial device that keeps African-Americans segregated in "a black city within the city" (Drake and Clayton 1993 [1945]). Importantly, the ghetto is described as the result of segregation that is enforced through unequal power relations and discrimination:

"The emergence of the black ghetto did not happen as a chance by-product of other socio-economic processes. Rather, white Americans made a series of deliberate decisions to deny blacks access to urban housing markets and to reinforce their spatial segregation." (Massey and Denton 1993: 19).

Work like Eric Uslaner's (2012) has contributed to refining the similarities and differences between national contexts with respect to marginal areas within cities. His statistical analyses have underlined the distinction between the US ghetto and segregated areas in the UK and Sweden with regard to race. This however, is not to posit that race does not partly determine residential segregation in Europe and in France in particular (see Keaton 2006; S. Smith 1987, 1993; Tissot 2007b). In effect, the links between racism and residential segregation have been studied in a number of European contexts (e.g. Beach and Sernhede 2011; Finney and Simpson 2009; Gruner 2009; Hopkins and Smith 2008; Mudu 2006; Musterd and Deurloo 1997; Schultz-Larsen 2009; Rhodes 2012; Skifter Andersen 2003; S.J. Smith 1987). Interestingly, Jean-Louis Pan Ké Shon (2009, 2010) argues that the study of ethnic residential segregation in France are limited by the lack of access to statistical data. The absence of this data stems from a desire not to break the taboos of the 'one and indivisible Republic' (see Maillot 2008; Spire and Merllié 1999). For Grafmeyer (1994), segregation in France is understood as the spatial concentration of disadvantaged populations. Conceptions of 'ethnicity' are perceived alongside and somewhat camouflaged

by that of class and of other social issues. As such, segregation is apprehended via the inequality that social groups have to acquire material goods and to symbolically manoeuvre through the urban fabric (Pan Ké Shon 2009: 7). It is also important to note the extensive literature on schooling and segregation (e.g. Felouzis *et al.* 2005; Henriot-van Zanten *et al.* 1994; Poupeau and François 2008). These studies establish a clear connection between segregated spaces and the effects of neighbourhood reputation. The state's gaze is influenced by the stigmatisation that segregated spaces have and in turn, this effects attendance in schools as those who have the means to prefer to place their children out of the tainted neighbourhood. This produces self-fulfilling prophecies whereby schools become segregated both in terms of class and ethnicity²¹. In any event, the urban segregation in France is linked to social integration (Fitoussi *et al.* 2003). In a country that struggles to integrate those that are still considered 'immigrants', even though they are second or third generation French, this is a problematic issue (Begag 2003; de Barros 2004; Lagrange and Oberti 2006; Lamont 2004; Ribert 2006; M. Silverman 1992; Taïeb 1989; Weil 2005).

2.3.2 - The constitution of 'immoral' geographies

In 1752, Benjamin Franklin wrote about the impact that Dutch immigrants were having on American neighbourhoods. These migrants were classified under the pronoun 'them' to separate them from 'us', the English colonists. "Already the English begin to quit particular neighborhoods, surrounded by the Dutch, being made uneasy by the disagreeableness of dissonant manners... Besides, the Dutch under-live, and are thereby enabled to under-work and under-sell the English who are thereby extremely incommoded and consequently disgusted" (quoted in Link and Phelan 2001: 370). Such separations between 'us' and 'them' can be found throughout history. For example, Richard Sennett (1994) describes the existence of the Venetian Jewish *gheto* and the language of disease that was used in reference to it. The city as conceptualised by the Chicago sociologists of the early to mid twentieth century was thought of in ways that compartmentalised residents, not through legal obligation as in the Jewish *gheto*, but as a consequence of 'natural areas' (see Zorbaugh

²¹ Again, this is a trend that has developed in Nîmes' schools. The Collège Condorcet is said to be 90% *ethnique* (Midi Libre 2012a). In 2005 it was the school with the highest recorded incidents of 'serious violence'.

2005 [1926]). Park (1952: 79) argued that "[o]nce set up a metropolis is, a great sorting mechanism which [...] infallibly selects out of the population as a whole the individuals best suited to live in a particular region or a particular milieu". This sorting process resulted in the city being partitioned and divided according to physical individuality and the cultural characteristics of residents (see Zorbaugh 2005 [1926]). In effect, the process enabled the enforcement of a moral separation of groups into moral and immoral spaces. The Chicago school ethnographies were accused of focussing too heavily on the lives and social relations of those regarded as deviants and living on the margins of society (Thrasher 1963 [1927]) or on life in slum areas (Zorbaugh 1983 [1929]). This is thought to have partly led to a human ecology view of cities that believed manipulation of the city, such as slum clearance, would be an effective way of dealing with immoral and deviant landscapes (see Davis 2006).

Geographies of immorality have shown that from Victorian England (Driver 1988; Dyos 1967; Dyos and Reeder 1973) to medieval European cities (Geremek 2006 [1976]) to rural France in the seventeenth century (Chevalier 2002 [1958]; E. Weber 1976), the 'us' and the 'them' have always lived separately. At any one time, there has always been one group with the power of definition and labelling 'other' and 'immoral' spaces. This is still very much the case: those who reside in stigmatised neighbourhoods are constituted as a threat to us because, much like the Dutch according to Benjamin Franklin, they are deemed to be immoral, lazy and also predatory. In standing with Durkheim's understanding that deviance and stigma also lead to consolidated solidarities within the in-group, this is a reminder that there are no moral geographies without immoral geographies (Cresswell 1996: 149).

The word 'moral' indicates a fairly contingent set of rules and expectations that are dressed up as though they are common sense (Cresswell 2005: 128). So, the idea of a moral geography (re)produces the feeling that some people and practices belong in specific spaces or landscapes but do not fit into others. The notion of moral geographies can be found in studies by Felix Driver (1988) but it has found echoes elsewhere (Bryant 2000; Cresswell 1996, 1997; Philo 1987; Sibley 1981, 1992, 1995; D.M. Smith 1999, 2000; Wolch and Dear 1987, 1988, 1993). In a number of studies on (im)moral geographies and landscapes, Michel Foucault's (1980) work on discipline and ordering has been a great influence. In particular he

often uses the metaphor of disease when connoting immoral geographies and he speaks of the plague as a metaphor for disorder:

"The plague as a form, at once real and imaginary, of disorder had as its medical and political correlative discipline. Behind the disciplinary mechanisms can be read the haunting memory of 'contagions', of the plague, of rebellions, crimes, vagabondage, desertions, people who appear and disappear, live and die in disorder" (Foucault 1979: 178-179).

Any transgression from the moral boundaries of the moral space is a break in the fixed system of classification and stratification (see Durkheim and Mauss 1903). David Sibley (1995: 80-81) explains that the strongly classified environment is one where abjection is most likely to be experienced. A focus on dirt, disease and the impressions of contagion and pollution are ideas that have been analysed by Mary Douglas (2002 [1966]). For her, dirt is opposed to order and purity while cleanliness is constructed *against* disorder and danger. The ways in which particular groups and their 'territory' of residence are classified in French society suggests that there exists the threat of a pollution. Douglas identifies the 'dangers' that the transgression of internal and external boundaries arouse. These are linked to a fear of pollution of the body or society and lead to the reification of boundaries and the reinforcement of moral strictures (see also Karner 2007: 59; Watt 2007).

In France, as it is the case elsewhere too, the media are often found guilty of reproducing anxieties, stereotypes and stigmatising representations that exist in relation to the *banlieues* and that reinforce moral as well as 'physical-yet-invisible' boundaries (Amorim 2002; Belhaj Kacem 2006; Body-Gendrot 1996; Bouamama 2006; Boyer and Lochard 1998; Dikeç 2007a; Garnier-Muller 2000; Hargreaves 1994; Sedel 2007, 2009a; Silverstein and Tetreault 2006). Richard Ericsson points to the fact that today's media is obsessed with the "visualization of deviance" (quoted in Derville 1997a: 106), forming a police force on the lookout for anything that appears to be outside of normality and not in its right place. The 'plague' and the threat of contagion motivate increased forms of surveillance operating through the police. Of course, this type of imagery and the policing that Foucault (1980; see also Elden 2003) discusses are also articulated in the regular talks of politicians (Lapeyronnie 2009; Moran

2011) and everyday conversations (Caldeira 2000) as well as literature (Hargreaves 2007; Ireland 2004) and other fictional works (Taunton 2009). These are just some of the 'capillary' forms of power discussed by Foucault: forms that function outside, alongside and below state apparatuses (Foucault 1980: 60, 96). This process is replicated in other national and/or regional contexts. For example, it has been described in Australia (Arthurson 2004), Argentina (Auyero and Swistun 2009), Brazil (Perlman 1976, 2010), The Netherlands (Wassenberg 2004b; Uitermark and Gielen 2010), Scotland (Hastings 2004), Mauritania (Poutignat and Streiff-Fénart 2001), Sweden (Musterd and Andersson 2006) and Italy (Agustoni and Alietti 2007) among others. Increasingly, talk of the fact that specific urban areas are in need of increased securitisation and/or surveillance generates the fascination that, in turn, attracts more media attention (Bigo 2008; Geisser 2003; Body-Gendrot 2000) and it can be stated that some neighbourhoods within cities:

“perhaps more than most objects of social analysis, tend to generate extremes or (perhaps more pejoratively) to attract hyperbole and gather clichés, and a suitably sceptical eye is needed whenever their insecurity is invoked” (Abrahamsen *et al.* 2010: 364-365).

French *banlieues* and *cités* are examples of places that popular depictions have greatly conspired to (re)constitute as distant and as unfamiliar; as located on some level ‘outside’ not of the city itself, but of French society as a whole. On top of this, not only are *cités* perceived as merely peripheral, but they are conceived as “synonyms of alterity, deviance and disadvantage” (Morley 2000: 162). The word *banlieue* itself is now associated with the spatialisation of social problems (Tissot and Poupeau 2005). Etienne Balibar goes further and states that the term *banlieue* now “connotes not only a conflictual, divided reality, but the *proximity of extremes*” (2007: 48) as well as pathological disorder (see also Jazouli 1995).

Those who conduct the surveys, establish the policies and map the land do so from an 'above' position, giving them a bird's eye-view of the places that they work on and this in turn, serves to exclude people and the complexity of their everyday lives (Lefebvre 1991). Michel de Certeau describes this as the consequence of a 'Cartesian attitude': "The division of space makes possible a panoptic practice proceeding from a place whence the eye can

transform foreign forces into objects that can be observed and measured" (de Certeau 1984: 36). He adds that this gives a particular position of control to the observer, "His [*sic*] elevation transforms him into a voyeur. It puts him [*sic*] at a distance [...] looking down like a god" (*ibid.*).

Here, we must once more insist on the relationship between stigmatisation and power, what Kay Anderson (1991: 24) calls the "power of definition". For instance, as he was travelling on a bus, at a time when he was doing research in a North Parisian *banlieue*, Azouz Begag began a conversation with the driver. At some point the man pointed and explained that 'from here' he does not sell tickets anymore and explained that ticket controllers would no longer examine tickets as they feared acts of aggression: "he was showing me an invisible frontier which he was drawing with his finger, one that only he seemed to be able to see, as if the entrance to a new city" (Begag 2002: 266). Begag insists that the fracture between the core and its periphery has grown larger, to the extent where it is now almost visible to the naked eye and the fears and fantasies have taken shape on maps (*ibid.*).

2.3.3 - The internalisation of advanced urban marginality?

Fabien Truong (2012) found that a number of *banlieue* youths from Seine-Saint-Denis, outside Paris, think of their towns as defaming and degrading the self. They speak of Paris and the core as 'awesome', 'beautiful', 'clean' and 'white'. Agnès Villechaise (1997, 1999) discovered similar feelings in the *banlieues* of Bordeaux. My argument in this thesis is that these feelings are far from common to all residents of so-called 'peripheral areas'. Conceptualisations of territorial stigmatisation involve a concern for self-fulfilling prophecies. They also include the idea that it stimulates practices of "internal social differentiation and distancing that work to decrease interpersonal trust and undercut local solidarity" (Wacquant 2008a: 183). I examine this in chapter 6 of the thesis. These practices are the consequence of what appears to be the internalisation and incorporation of territorial stigmatisation by residents of tainted neighbourhoods. In this sub-section, I address the ways in which territorial stigmatisation has been conceptualised by theorists and

ethnographers whose work is also anchored in understandings of the social world as essentially split between dominant and dominated groups. In particular, I try to understand how the notion of *habitus*, that Max Weber (1978 [1922]: 534), Marcel Mauss (1936) and Norbert Elias (1994 [1939]: 210 and 267-369) have borrowed from Ancient Greek philosophers, has been re-elaborated in connection with advanced urban marginality. This is linked to the slow decomposition of working-class territories. It is a "novel regime of sociospatial relegation and exclusionary closure" (Wacquant 2008a: 2) that is enabled by the role of the state.

Structuralism assumes that the individual is inserted into an impersonal system that pre-exists the self. This system is determinant in how the self will be shaped through culture and contacts with others. One is therefore thought to internalise a number of ideological constructs depending on the social class into which we are born, or according to the gender that we are said to inhabit for example (see Zaretsky 1994). As I have stated in the introduction of the thesis, I understand the internalisation as the incorporation of cultural values, mores and motives of another group through learning and socialisation as well as identification. It is clear that the discursive constitution of the stigmatised *banlieues* is internalised by some of the residents of these places and it is quite certainly both absorbed and reproduced by those who do not reside there. However, there are literatures that question whether this vision of social space is internalised by the residents themselves (Bacqué and Sintomer 2001; Le Goaziou and Rojzman 2006; Sauvadet 2006b). In a telling answer to this question, Pierre Bourdieu (1999 [1993]) writes that:

“[t]he stigmatized area symbolically degrades its inhabitants, who, in return, symbolically degrade it. Since they don’t have all the cards necessary to participate in the various social games, the only thing they share is their common excommunication. Bringing together on a single site a population homogeneous in its dispossession strengthens that dispossession” (p. 129).

This quote expresses the imprisonment of *banlieue* residents within a given social order. It seems to demonstrate the internalisation or the habitualisation of negative representations

by residents into their 'common sense' attitudes towards the stigmatised neighbourhood. Habitualisation occurs through regular contact and interaction with someone or something that creates a habit, thus rendering that interaction and the responses that we have routine and reducing the possibility that we might question the relationship to the thing or person. Bourdieu (1984: 468) constructs the dominated in relation to the dominant and claims that "[t]he cognitive structures which social agents implement in their practical knowledge of the social world are internalized, 'embodied' social structures". This is a foundation of his theory of *habitus*. In short, this refers to the value, tastes, expectations and dispositions of particular social groups that are acquired through everyday experiences. For Bourdieu, they are then literally embodied. This embodiment or incorporation is not metaphorical but has very concrete materialisations. In effect, the dominated come to internalise their social situation as it enters into everyday common-sense (Bourdieu 1980; see also Bourgois 2003 [1996]; Bourgois and Schonberg 2009; Nordmann 2006). The habitus is a 'memory', it is a "system of durable and transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1990: 53). The notion of habitus is central to the theory that Bourdieu elaborates in order to render evident the 'logic of practice': the principals that are at work in everyday practices (Bourdieu 2000 [1972]). Importantly, habitus produces the conditions of its very perpetuation as the social order is incorporated by all within society, the dominant and the dominated alike (*ibid.*). The notion of habitus is central to Loïc Wacquant's elaboration of advanced urban marginality (Wacquant 2007b; 2008a).

Wacquant has pioneered much of the recent work on territorial stigmatisation and he has contributed to bringing the notion back to the foreground of academic inspection. It is worth quoting him in full when he says that:

"In every metropolis of the First World, one or more towns, districts or concentrations of public housing are publicly known and recognized as those urban hellholes in which violence, vice, and dereliction are the order of things. Some even acquire the status of national eponym for all the evils and dangers now believed to afflict the dualized city: Les Minguettes and La Courneuve or the Mirail housing complex in Toulouse for France; South Central Los Angeles, the Bronx and the project of Cabrini-Green in Chicago for the United States;

Duisberg-Marxloh and Berlin-Neukölln for Germany; the districts of Toxteth in Liverpool, Saint Paul's in Bristol, or Meadow Well in Newcastle for England; and Bijlmer and Westlijke Tuinsteden in Amsterdam for Holland. Even the societies that have best resisted the rise of advanced marginality, like the Scandinavian countries, are affected by this phenomenon of *territorial stigmatization* linked to the emergence of zones reserved for the *urban outcasts*.... Whether or not these areas are in fact dilapidated and dangerous, and their population composed essentially of poor people, minorities and foreigners, matters little in the end: the prejudicial belief that they are suffices to set off socially noxious consequences" (Wacquant 2007b: 67-68, my emphasis).

Wacquant (2007b) adds a fourth attribute of stigma to Goffman's original three-part definition: the "blemish of place" (p. 67). He notes that this is closest to the 'tribal stigma of race', in that it is transmitted through lineage. Unlike visible stigmas however, it can be "dissimulated and attenuated – even annulled – through geographic mobility" (*ibid.*). An essential part of his work has focussed on describing the plight and the hardships that residents of post-Keynesian *banlieues* must endure in France (1992, 2006a, 2007a, 2008a, 2008b). As a student of Bourdieu, Wacquant's analysis of advanced urban marginality and territorial stigmatisation are both heavily influenced by the theory of habitus and by understandings of symbolic violence when he states that:

"In response to spatial defamation, residents engage in strategies of mutual distancing and lateral denigration; they retreat into the private sphere of the family; and they exit from the neighborhood (whenever they have the option). These practices of *symbolic self-protection* set off a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby negative representations of the place end up producing in it the very cultural anomie and social atomism that these representations claim were already there" (Wacquant 2008: 116, emphasis in original).

Goffman had warned that "[g]iven the ambivalence built into the individual's attachment to his [*sic*] stigmatized category, it is understandable that oscillations may occur in his [*sic*] support of, identification with, and participation among his own" (1963: 51). Goffmann had

nonetheless left the door open to the possibility that the stigmatised might realise that they can “make a dent in the education of the world” in acknowledging their ‘attribute’ in such ways that can generate pride ²². This pride would come from one's ability to negotiate the conditions of the marks of stigma or in being able to cope with the negative attributes that society affixes to their beings (Goffman 1963: 69). This type of affirmative agency is not readily associated with territorial and spatial stigma. Wacquant's conclusions clearly point to a trickle-down effect, whereby the scorn that is felt by those not residing in working-class neighbourhoods is transformed into stigmatising gazes that are themselves habitualised and internalised by residents:

“The high-level civil servants whom I interviewed all spoke of the deteriorating working-class districts of the urban periphery with a tremolo of anguish and disgust in their voices. Everything in their tone, their vocabulary, their postures and gestures expressed regret at being in charge of a mission and a population degraded and therefore degrading. *Then I found the same feeling of disgust and indignity at the very bottom of the urban ladder*” (Wacquant 2009: 116-117, emphasis added).

Territorial stigmatisation is an insidious phenomenon with socio-historical roots that should not be ignored. As Wacquant demonstrates (2007a), territorial stigma operates differently in different places depending on the social and economic history of the area. This seems to legitimise the intimate study of each of these areas in order to measure the ways in which resistance against stigma can be organised. Yet one might ask whether resistance is not already happening in ways that might not be as evident as one might think. Before addressing the issue of resistance to territorial stigmatisation *per se*, the next sub-section will examine the ways in which the social sciences have increasingly described stigma as an attribute that individuals can channel and even manage.

²² This quote was taken from a blind woman who developed the idea that by constant contact with her, the non-blind eventually began to ignore the mark and ceased to treat her as different.

2.4 - Everyday life, stigmatisation, negotiation and resistance

The assumption that inhabitants of French housing estates internalise the stigma that their neighbourhoods endure constitutes them as ineffective agents before the dominating framing powers of territorial stigmatisation. However, I want to explore the avenues through which some residents cope with the marks of stigma and of reject its representations as they filter down into the *cités*. This section briefly examines responses to stigma as it seeks to show that negative representations can at times be displaced, misrecognised or simply ignored *instead* of internalised. The first sub-section provides an overview of the ways in which the concept of resistance has been defined and theorised. It asks whether there is scope to engage in resistance to territorial stigmatisation and how this might apply in this thesis. The second sub-section examines stigma as an attribute that can be contested and it engages with some tactical ways of coping with territorial stigmatisation.

2.4.1 - 'From internalisation to resistance, to change'

The title of section is borrowed from Campbell and Deacon (2006) who argue that through the unravelling of the context in which stigmatisation takes place, the stigma itself can be resisted and "dismantled" (see also Tyler 2013). As such, it is a reminder that stigmatisation is contextual and, as such, entirely dependent upon the historical moment, geographical location and scale. The introduction of the idea of resistance to stigma suggests the active, intentional desire to challenge and question the very reasons for which the stigmatising label was brought into existence. Debates about the nature of what 'resistance' means have developed considerably in recent years as social scientists have increasingly asked the question: 'what truly counts as resistance?'. Radical geographers have sought to find an answer to this question. First among these has been David Harvey (1993), whose analysis of power relations involved in the production of space has been a reminder to address the historically situated nature of exploitation. Harvey's understanding of resistance is defined via the taking up of an oppositional stance. It is through the shared experience of class oppression that oppositional forms are forged.

Here, I develop an analysis of challenges to stigmatisation that are not situated in the direct expressions of revolutionary class struggle - even as some of the respondents clearly think in ways that are oppositional and believe themselves to be united against a dominating, stigma-producing power. At various points, this thesis engages with grassroots organisations that focus on challenging stigmatisation, it tries to understand how stigma can be countered from the perspective of people who do not reside in stigmatised neighbourhoods, and it tries to understand the role of associations who attempt to alleviate the symbolic and material affects of stigma. These are versions of 'resistance' that are closer to a definition that reads contestation and intentionality into resistive acts. However, a part of the last chapter of this thesis develops what have been termed 'everyday acts of resistance'. What is meant by this needs to be explained.

My understanding of resistance as 'more-than-oppositional' is informed by a sense that "political identities are strategic, tactical, mobile, multifaceted, blurred, awkward, ambivalent" (Pile 1997: 27). The everyday actions of 'resistance' that I develop in the final chapter of this thesis are not necessarily based upon the assumption that resistance needs to take the form of an active struggle (see Jackson 1989: 59; hooks 1990a, 1990b). I am nonetheless mindful of the slippery ground that accompanies studies of the concept of resistance. The everyday forms of resistance that I examine in the final part of this thesis are admittedly fleeting in some sense, but like Donna Goldstein (2003: 8), I believe them to be of some importance. The general academic distrust with resistance studies is understandable. It is fair to say that in recent years, 'resistance' has become one of the fluffiest concepts in the social sciences, leading some theorists to 'resist resistance' (Brown 1996) and others to talk of 'populist' social sciences (Tilly 1991). Tim Cresswell (2000) summarises his confusion at the vastness of what can be construed a 'resistive act':

"Resistance is in danger of becoming a meaningless and theoretically unhelpful term. Something that is applicable to everything is not a particularly helpful tool in interrogating social and cultural life. The romance of resistance leads to a curious kind of inertia in which an apparently unitary, dominating power is seen

to be challenged everywhere and thus by a curious magic remains unchallenged. Everybody is so busy resisting always, and already, that little more needs to be done. One problem is that an act such as armed insurrection or a general strike is equated with the act of farting in public or telling jokes about the boss" (p.259)

With this understandable critique in mind, I nonetheless wish to point to James Holston's (2008: 13) argument that the agency that leads some to seek out, by any means available, a form of insurgent democratic politics through 'resistive' acts does not preclude the possibility that human agency can also produce "entrenchment, persistence, and inertia". The question of agency is not an either/or problem: acts of resistance or challenges to prevailing order occur in tandem with, and not in opposition to, acts of apparent quiescence. Even though one cannot deny the heavy consequences of negative territorial representations, it is important to ask whether it is truly the case that those who live in French housing estates *necessarily* internalise or embody the stigmatisation that marks their places of residence. There might be instances where these same residents react to the stigma in ways that can be read as symbolic resistance to the power of 'official' representations of place (see Watt 2008).

James C. Scott's work is an illustration of an academic shift that has taken place in resistance studies. Indeed, in 1976, he wrote about resistance through peasant insurgency. Less than ten years later, in 1985, he wrote his famous work on the 'everyday forms of peasant resistance'. In this latter work, he is concerned with forms of resistance that he calls the 'infrapolitics of the powerless'. These are covert and they take place at times when organised resistance is potentially difficult and even impossible. They include "foot-dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, sabotage, and so forth" (Scott 1985: 29). What is of crucial importance in Scott's work is that both the revolutionary forms of resistance that he describes in the 1970s and the discreet and subtle everyday forms that he points to in later writings are conceived as embedded in class politics, rendering even everyday forms of resistance politically meaningful. Importantly, Aihwa Ong (2010 [1987]) applies Scott's theoretical framework to factory women in Malaysia and identifies moments where everyday resistance leads to tangible changes in difficult work

conditions (see also Comaroff 1985). Scott's analysis was of great influence to scholars such as Ong but also to others who began to study peasant and class resistance in a variety of different contexts at the level of the everyday (Turton 1986; White 1986). Following from this point, Donna Goldstein (2003: 9) states that: "While it is true that an act cannot be termed resistance merely because it took place in the context of domination, it is important to recognize that every act is mitigated through class position and is implicitly a class act, ultimately political in the sense that every act, as well as the analytical practices we employ to understand these practices, reflects, reinforces, and enact class relations" (see also Comaroff 1985; Feldman *et al.* 2004; Foff Paules 1991; Medina 2013; Newman 1999).

In a study of the everyday lives of German factory workers in the early 20th century, social historian Alf Lüdtke (1986) explains his reference to the concept of *Eigensinn*. Loosely translatable as 'obstinacy', this refers to the actions that fall outside surveillance within a factory, which were then theorised in a way that accounted for both the internalisation of a system of domination *and* resistance to it. *Eigensinn* represents the many instances of 'messing around' and disobedience, when dominating eyes are not fixed upon workers. Such actions operate within a given framework and do not overtly question the organisational rules of the factory, yet they are moments of subjective disengagement that allow factory workers to cope with the pressures that are imposed upon them. Instead of overt resistance, *Eigensinn* allowed for the workers that Lüdtke studied to 'take some distance' from the orders and the norms of production that were imposed from above or outside. This is very similar to Michael Burawoy's (1979) analysis of 'making out' in Chicago factories, suggesting that there is a continuation in the ways that workers play games in order to maximise time and profit from their own exploitation. In effect, in both Burawoy and Lüdtke's accounts factory workers do not 'resist' work procedures in moments of *Eigensinn* or making out, rather, they allowed these procedures to function without them. Central to Lüdtke's account is that resistance is not always directly confrontational. Although *Eigensinn* does not amount to explicit conflict, the bourgeoisie and factory owners often perceived it that way, considering that it might lead to the collective savagery of proletarians that might then precipitate the fall of capitalist society more generally. Of importance in Lüdtke's work is his insistence on everyday actions and practices. He promotes an awareness of these facets of

daily life in order to expose both the internalisation of domination and the playful and sometimes discreet challenges that take place within a given social order.

Some studies locate specific acts of resistance within so-called subcultures and in particular, youth subcultures. This is most evident in the work produced by Birmingham University Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) that focused on the ways that youths symbolically resist mainstream or hegemonic society through style, and this includes clothing, demeanour or ways of speaking (Hebdige 1979; Mercer 1990; Duchêne 2002). Hall and Jefferson (1976) found that working-class white men often joined deviant groups in order to resist conforming to what they saw as an oppressive society (see Jackson 1989: 59-65). In the wake of the CCCS, studies of symbolic resistance have been numerous, from belonging to musical subcultures to belonging to youth gangs (Clarke *et al.* 2006 [1975]; Willis 1977; see also Cumbers *et al.* 2010; Ervine 2008; Leblanc 1999; Marx-Scouras, D. and Khellaf, K. 2008). Ultimately however, although the CCCS insisted that subcultural styles were forms of resistance to subordination, these acts and performances ended up reinforcing class relations (Cohen 1980; Willis 1977). Resistance from subcultural groups gave those involved the feeling that they were resisting and subverting mainstream values while they were merely recasting dominant relationships in a subversive style (Clarke *et al.* 1975).

In a seminal article about the 'resistance' of Bedouin women, Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) warns of the propensity for social scientists to 'romanticise resistance'. She cautions that contemporary research is becoming "more concerned with finding resisters and explaining resistance than with examining power" (p.41). She is interested in the ways that Bedouin women both support and resist the existing system of power and she wishes to do this without talking of false consciousness or impression management: the first erases their own understanding of a situation and the second would constitute them as cynical manipulators (p.47). Abu-Lughod's work can be read alongside Sherry Ortner's (2006) belief that the impulse to sanitise the "internal politics of the dominated must be understood as fundamentally romantic" (p.49). Ortner warns about the ambiguity of resistance and the subjective ambivalence of those who engage in acts of resistance (pp.44-45). It is certainly

possible that by reading resistance into a number of everyday actions that appear to be mundane, the researcher runs the risk of ascribing politics or consciousness *where there is only a desire to cope* (Ortner 2006: 56). This is an important a crucial point as, in the French context, those who find themselves assigned to so-called *banlieues* somehow develop ways of coping with the weight of stigmatic representations. But although coping is evidently not the same as resisting, developing the ability to cope in an environment that is defined as dangerous and inherently unwelcoming can be construed a form of 'speaking back' to the labels and representations that accompany territorial stigma (Ashcroft *et al.* 2002 [1989]; hooks 1990b; Murphy 2011; Roschelle and Kaufman 2004).

The work conducted by Payet *et al.* (2008) uncovers the ways in which, from indignity and humiliation, those that they refer to as 'weak actors' actively develop ways of coping with their situations. In some cases, this allows for them to be heard and rendered visible and for their individual tactics of coping to be made public, affecting the likelihood of it being interpreted by others as resistance. In a reaction to what she perceives as a post-structural vision of resistance as 'everywhere, all the time', Cindi Katz (2004) dissects resistance practices into "three R's". She contrasts 'resistance' that involves an oppositional consciousness to the 'resilience' that allows for people to survive. The latter refers to the small acts that allow for dominated groups to cope and get by. Crucially, and unlike the clearer forms of resistance to domination that involve an oppositional consciousness (Katz 2004: 251), resilience has no major influence on existing social relations. The third section of Katz's theorisation of resistance practices is that of 'reworking'. This involves the recognition of oppressive power relations and the need for these to be 'recalibrated'. Although reworking does not necessarily challenge hegemonic power relations directly, it often allows for spaces to open up that are then stepping-stones towards more explicit resistance. Importantly, reworking and resilience improve living conditions of those who are often constituted as passive victims of unequal power relations. In what follows, I illustrate that the three 'R's' that Katz has enumerated, far from working separately at different times, all work together and are already present in situations of territorial stigmatisation. Territorial stigma is difficult to transform and challenge but already at work within the *cités* of Pissevin and Valdegour are attempts at moving beyond 'pathological explanations' (Hastings 2004). In

the chapters that follow, I elaborate how certain performances can create disruptions, and the playful absorption of language destabilises the accepted texts that tell us how *banlieue* landscapes should be read.

2.4.2 - Speaking back to stigma and to the taint of place

There is no doubt that the material, historical and political nature of stigma must be addressed but attention must also be given to the conditions and possibilities that allow for the re-asserting of identities, agency and social change in the context of stigmatising images and practices:

"Stigma is as much about the resistance of identities as the reduction of identities; it is a dialectical process of contestation and creativity that is simultaneously anchored in and limited by the structures of history, economics and power" (Howarth 2006: 450).

Howarth (1996) challenges the conception that stigma is necessarily internalised and has instead examined how stigmatised people respond, resist and deny the value of the labels that are attached in processes of stigmatisation (see also Inzlicht *et al.* 2009; Miller and Kaiser 2001). This suggests the possibility of a Foucaultian understanding of power being exercised within a context where there is necessarily resistance to it (1980). Where there is power and ideological assumptions about ways in which landscapes should be read, there is necessarily resistance to those assumptions, however multiple and powerful they may be. The literary theorist bell hooks even suggests that one's position as marginalised, colonised or stigmatised enables the possibility of active talking back (hooks 1990b). Marginality, she states, is an ideal site for resistance (hooks 1990a) and John Murphy (2011) argues that *banlieue* residents deconstruct and reconstruct the negative representations that are produced outside their neighbourhoods. This allows them to be active in the production of their own identities. As Robin Kelley (1996) pointed out in relation to the subtle forms of 'resistance' of the black working class in the United States, we need to give space to the

conditions and possibilities that allow for the reassertion of identities in the context of stigmatising images and practices

Some social psychological studies suggest that not all victims of stigma develop low self-esteem levels, especially if they reside among their stigmatized group (Crabtree et al. 2010; Fine and Ash 1988; Johns *et al.* 2005; Miller and Major 2000; Roschelle and Kaufman 1997). There are three reasons that explain this lack of low self-esteem: stigmatised people can attribute negative feedback to prejudice against their group; they can compare themselves with the in-group rather than the relatively advantaged out-group; and they can devalue the attributes where their group fares poorly, and value those dimensions on which their group excels (Crocker and Major 1989). Goffman (1969: 63) points to the fact that a mark of stigma can actually become a source of pride for the person who carries it. He quotes a blind woman who wishes to make an "dent in the education of the world". She describes how she has turned her mark of stigma into something that she is now proud of, especially as she sees it alter the world around her. Identities that are tainted by the stigmatising gaze of what Goffman has called the 'normals' find spaces to question, contest and undermine the effects of this stigma.

Towards the end of the 1980s, François Maspero, an illustrious Parisian editor, embarked on a trip accompanied by the photographer Anaïk Frantz. This voyage was intended to rediscover the *banlieues* of Northern Paris. The endeavour was one of exploration and, in some ways, resembled that of past travel literature writers set in a twentieth-century setting (Forsdick *et al.* 2006). The 'discoveries' appeared in book form under the title *Roissy-Express: a Journey through the Paris Suburbs* (1994 [1990]). Although the enterprise had always been to give voice to the Northern *banlieues* of Paris while also re-establishing them as 'places on the map', the book presents the suburbs as dark and miserable urban spaces (Jones 2004). This is particularly salient when one examines the photographs that portray empty and decaying dilapidated housing along grey skies and leafless trees. Maspero's interviews demonstrate the ambivalence and tortured feelings that residents had about their neighbourhoods and their vicinity. Anaïk Frantz enters into a discussion with a resident that illustrates these feelings:

“This is a really bad area. The Rose des Vents. The Aulnay 3000 estate: haven’t you heard of it? But it’s famous. It’s got a bad reputation. Rapes. Muggings. Drugs especially. You should see the needles they find in the gutter. A boy died from an overdose not long ago. It was in the papers. They’ve set up a committee named after him: the Rodrigo Committee. But this is home.”

The resident continues on a different note:

“But this is my home. At least there’s fresh air. And space. You can breathe. Do you come from Paris? Paris is suffocation. How do people live in Paris? You’re right to go and have a look around: there are some beautiful things to see around here” (Maspero 1994 [1990]: 32).

Studies of territorial stigmatisation have too often concluded in what amounts to the dismissal of individual agency and the capacity to challenge stigma ‘from below’ (see Slater and Anderson 2012 for a notable exception). Maspero’s account clearly suggests that the respondent feels an attachment to the place in which she lives: “This is my home”. This signals both an understanding of home as belonging and of home as a place that has been appropriated, that the respondent comes to ‘own’ in her own way. In the above example, the resident is apparently aware of the negative reputation of ‘home’ yet she is almost defensive, establishing a comparison with Paris that is redefined as the social elsewhere and the ‘other’ (Göle 2005: 23). Paris is counter-stigmatised in a move that signals a mental reversal of the stigmatising process. Although the tactic does not eradicate or change the stigma, it consists in othering what is interpreted as ‘central’. This move suggests what some have called ‘emplacement’: a strong attachment to one’s place of residence that is demonstrated by the urban working class, notwithstanding the negative representations that permeate these areas (Slater 2013).

Michel de Certeau (1984) distinguishes between the strategies of the powerful and the tactics of what can be referred to as ‘the marginalised’. In his theorisation, the strategies generally produce the desired results as they emanate from those who have means to enact them (policy, power, statistics and other bureaucratic and legal practices). Meanwhile, a

tactic is a "calculated action determined by the absence of a power locus" and he states that "[t]he space of the tactic is the space of the Other" (de Certeau 1984: 37). Tactics are famously depicted as those actions that the marginalised have recourse to in the face of what de Certeau does not explicitly call domination, but power. Thus, once individuals have been marginalised by different strategies, they experience the possibility of acting tactically and this includes speaking, reading and writing as well as cooking. He describes tactics as those actions that temporarily re-script the ways in which things - and landscapes - *should* be read. The forms that these actions can take include walking as an appropriation of territory through walking (de Certeau 2000). Although they have been accused of romanticising resistance (Iveson 2007), these theoretical elaborations open up spaces into which those who suffer from prejudice, stigma or negative labelling can begin to feel pride about their tactical (re)appropriations, temporary re-scripting of the social world and individual experiences of place and space.

Dean and Hastings (2000) have shown that it is possible to 'challenge images' collectively in housing estates. Similar work has been done by Anne Power (1999) in her comparative studies of European estates. However, as Turiel (2003) reminds us, it is important to move beyond the strategies of cooperation that planners and stakeholders would like residents to adopt. Even though they may have achieved high levels of successes, a significant part of the estates in Lyon were eventually demolished and their populations displaced, regardless of the collaborative efforts which were put in place (Power 1999: 147-168).

Other tactics of appropriation occur regularly through the use of graffiti (Ley and Cybriwsky 1974; Cresswell 1996) or the occupation of public spaces (Lorcerie 2005) even when this has been explicitly forbidden, such as in the French *banlieues* (Sauvadet 2006). These serve as the markers of appropriation of space and resistance to an authority which is deemed illegitimate, i.e., the police forces. What is more, Michel de Certeau's poetics of walking takes on all its meaning in a place that non-residents simply traverse in an automated vehicle. The fact of walking the streets of the *banlieues* can be read as an act of tactical appropriation as well as resistance to the enduring image that these places are dangerous.

Whereas some have tried to impute intentionality to periods of rioting (e.g. Mucchielli and Aït-Omar 2006), resistance in the *banlieues* can of course take on non-violence means. Examples of symbolic resistance abound. Studies of *banlieue* language, *banlieue* music and *banlieue* dress all expand upon the idea that these subcultural styles are the results of tainted identities. They can nonetheless be read as part of a “discourse that challenges prevailing notions of French national and cultural identity as fixed and stable, while simultaneously embodying an alternative, multiculturalist vision of France” (Oscherwitz 2004: 44; see also Azra and Cheneau 1994; Duchêne 2002; Melliani 2000; Tijé-Dra 2012). Through acts of walking through the 'tainted places', affirming a stigmatised identity, re-appropriating the signs and signifiers of stigma in an effort to speak back to dominant stigmatic language, counter-hegemonic spaces are opened up that challenge the negative representations that affix themselves to place.

2.5 - Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that there exists a vast body literature in the social sciences that refers to conceptualisations of stigma as an analytic tool. Stigmatised places are rightly highlighted for all the evident material effects that they have for those who live within them. A number of the scholarly works that I have cited demonstrate that territorial stigmatisation has incredibly damaging and long-lasting economic and symbolic consequences that need to be addressed forcefully. Attempts at deciphering territorial stigmatisation are far-reaching in their argumentation, looking at the role of public discourse or the state in producing spaces of inequality and marginality. However, there have been useful experiments in trying to challenge territorial stigma and negative imagery from the ground up (Dean and Hastings 2000; Slater and Anderson 2012; Taylor 1998; Vienne 2005). This is extremely useful work insofar as it opens up the doors about how to work against stigmatising representations of place *from within* these very places. When analysing specific in-groups who reside inside French cités, the tendency has been to search for the embodiment and internalisation of stigmatic imagery in order to reveal the power of dominant representations on those who are marginalised (Chaumont 2009; Robin 2007). At the level of the everyday lived

experience, the internalisation of stigmatic language and of neighbourhood representation are relatively evident and audible in a number of ways. However, it seems important to ask how residents negotiate their conditions of life as marginalised members of the urban fabric. We have seen that, although vital, structural accounts tend to take away from local actors the possibility that their lived experiences may be different from what we have come to expect (Boltanski 2009; Verdrager 2010). Foucaultian understandings of power open up the possibility for resistance to operate in multiple ways and although it has been criticised for limiting the possibility of full emancipation, it does recognise the individual capacities that individuals possess. As social scientists, we should be attempting to hear the voice(s) of 'weak actors' (Payet et al. 2008).

Simultaneously, it is important to keep a number of questions in mind: Who can perform acts of resistance and speak back to stereotypes? More importantly, how is this given meaning by *banlieue*-residents? What does this mean for those residents who do not or cannot resist and/or cope with life under conditions of stigmatisation? The next chapter takes us through the ways in which France's *banlieues*, and those of Nîmes in particular, have been constituted as places from which meaningful acts of opposition to dominant, stigmatising images of the city are considered an impossibility: places from which 'voices' have become 'noises', as Mustafa Dikeç phrases it (2007: ch. 7).

Chapter 3 - Methods and methodology

3.1 - Introduction

This thesis aims to understand the weight of territorial stigmatisation and negative representations of place on housing estate residents in the city of Nîmes, in southern France. As the final chapter of this thesis demonstrates, in the course of the research, it became clear that *territorial stigma is not simply internalised by residents*. Many residents lead happy lives in these neighbourhoods, notwithstanding the fears and anxieties that are affixed to these places from outside. Others actively attempt to challenge and deflect the stigmatising representations that have such dramatic material consequences on the neighbourhoods. My research focuses on textuality: narrative, discourse and language, all of which contribute to constituting 'reality'. Of course, practice is also important in producing an idea of truth and authenticity, as more-than-representational geographies have shown. Throughout the course of the research, I have been preoccupied with deciphering the meanings that are attributed to the so-called *banlieues* and *cités* while trying to understand how these are interpreted by residents. This chapter has two main objectives. Firstly, it aims to present a defence of the approach that I have chosen, and secondly, it points to the methods and research techniques that I used while explaining how these helped to bring me closer to answering the central research question of the thesis.

In the first part, I explain my epistemological stance as well as the ontological perspective for this research project. This section develops why I have adopted an interpretivist stance to answer the research question. With research that is underpinned by an interest in the discursive constitution of French *cités*, I also make clear what I mean by discourse. I then bring my research design to the fore, clarifying why I chose Nîmes as a field-site and the neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour in particular. I also give details of how I recruited respondents to participate in my research. I then elaborate on why I selected specific research methods and on the benefits that these have had in practice. Fourth, I discuss how the data was gathered and analysed. Finally, I address the issue of representation of the

study and the reflexive stance that was adopted in planning the research, while conducting it, and when writing up the results.

3.2 - Methodological foundations of the thesis

“The initial position of the social scientist [...] is practically always one of lack of familiarity with what is actually taking place in the sphere of life chosen for study” (Blumer 1969: 33).

Methodology can be understood as a coherent set of procedures that are dictated by epistemology (relating to what we can know and how we can know it) and ontology (ideas relating to that which actually exists in the world). Here, methodology refers to the rationale and assumptions of the study (Flick *et al.* 2004; Hughes and Sharrock 1997). The philosophical standpoint that social scientists adopt is pivotal in shaping the outcome of the research project as a whole, as it determines what questions are worth asking. It establishes the definition of concepts, establishes the ways in which methods are articulated, and the data that is then considered appropriate for analysis (R.J. Johnston 1986; see also Hatch and Yanow 2008; Rudner 1966).

Throughout the thesis I develop an analysis that is rooted in a social scientific world view (*Weltanschauung*) underpinned by interpretivism. Interpretivism is best understood as a tradition that includes those thinkers who have opposed the application of a scientific model to the study of the social world. It encapsulates the belief that the social sciences have an object of study that is fundamentally different to that of the natural sciences. This position is best summed up by Alfred Schütz, a phenomenologist who was also one of the founders of the interpretivist approach:

“The world of nature as explored by the natural scientist does not ‘mean’ anything to molecules, atoms and electrons. But the observational field of the social scientist – social reality – has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the beings living, acting and thinking within it. By a series of common-sense

constructs they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world which they experience as a reality of their daily lives" (1962: 59).

Schütz's antipositivist approach is based in part upon Max Weber's notion of *Verstehen*, that can loosely be translated as 'understanding' or 'interpretation', and *verstehende Soziologie* (see Abel 1948). Weber conceived sociology as needing to perform "the interpretive understanding of social action" (Weber, quoted in Tucker 1965: 157). As its name suggests, interpretivism aims to *interpret social action with the purpose of understanding its meanings and their consequences*. By 'social action', Weber was referring to any action that:

"by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), takes account of the behavior of others, and is therefore oriented in its course... In 'action' is included all human behavior when and in so far as the acting individual attaches subjective meaning to it" (Weber, quoted in Schütz 1967: 15).

Embedded in the interpretivist epistemology is a desire and a commitment to understand the *subjective meanings of social actions* (Ley 1977, 1985, 1988; Roebuck 1999). These aspirations are entrenched in a number of philosophical traditions, ranging from symbolic interactionism and hermeneutic-phenomenological approaches to feminism and postmodernism (Bauman 1978; Denzin 1989; Gal 1991; Joas 1987; Kelly 1991; Lagopoulos 1993; Mies 1983; Rabinow and Sullivan 1987; Reinharz 1992; Ricoeur 1971; Sass 1988; Schwandt 1998; Silverman and Gubrium 1994). Each of these departs from the natural science explicative approach and focuses on the *understanding* of human behaviour and not on its *explanation*, the latter being a distinctive characteristic of positivism (Bryman 2004: 13; see also Rudner 1966). David Ley (1982) states that human geographers somewhat pioneered the move away from naturalism to ensure that research actually becomes about *experience* (see also P. Jackson 1981). Susan Smith (1981) explains that this was in part influenced by a humanistic geography, the philosophical basis of which is rooted in late nineteenth and early twentieth century France and Germany. Methodologically, it found grounding in the successive 'Chicago Schools of Sociology' (*Ibid.*). Lived experiences are, of course extremely diverse regardless of the research field. In the case of life in a French

housing estate, the 'thick description' (Geertz 2003 [1973]) that respondents deliver in their narratives does not relate to one homogeneous set of meanings. As the empirical chapters demonstrate, there is a wide array of ways in which housing estates are known and experienced by their residents notwithstanding their discursive constitution as threatening and unpleasant places in which to live.

In the words of Judith Butler (2008 [1990]), discourse can be summed up as the limits of acceptable speech. An epistemological foundation of this research has been that our understandings of the social world, including social space and what can be known about it, are constituted and determined through discourse. As such, the space of French housing estates is made and unmade through multiple discursive arrangements that establish 'truths' and determine what can be known about such neighbourhoods. Knowledge pertaining to social issues is produced in large part through the pronouncements of experts and the diagnostics that they propose to 'treat' these societal concerns. As I explain in chapters 4 and 5, the ways in which urban policy (re)produces the so-called French *banlieues* is applicable to this understanding (Dikeç 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b). For Michel Foucault (1980) knowledge cannot be disassociated from power, when the latter is used to produce and control the former. In a widely quoted declaration, he states that:

"There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations" (Foucault 1977: 27).

Foucault (1977, 2002 [1969], 2003) further argues that discourse is not just a linguistic concept but rather, a system of representation. As such, it consists of different ways of "organizing, clustering, arranging and classifying concepts, and of establishing complex relations between them" (Stuart Hall 1997a: 17). Complementing Foucault's understanding of discourse, Stuart Hall explains that *discourse is about the production of meaning through language as well as practice*, and "since all social practices entail *meaning*, and meanings shape and influence what we do - our conduct - all practices have a discursive aspect" (1992: 291). In another text, Hall further defines discourse:

“It defines and constructs the object of our knowledge. It governs the way in which a particular topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. [More importantly] it also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others” (Stuart Hall 1997a: 44).

It is a constitutive practice that gives birth to forms of knowledge. It never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source, and discourse analysis is preoccupied with analysing diverse statements and the ways in which they relate to each other (Foucault 2002 [1969]). The multiplicity of discursive statements must be used repetitively in order to successfully exert power and control (Stuart Hall 2000). Discourses are always embedded within social and institutional contexts and as such, they evolve over time while always influencing our perceptions of social reality. In turn, this affects how we act within what can be known about the world (Hardy and Phillips 2004). This has prompted de Cillia *et al.* (1999: 157) to state that “discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it”. The discursive constitution of the French *banlieues*, understood as they are to be threatening no-go zones, is likely to have an effect on the way they are talked about, regulated and controlled. It is also easy to imagine that the 'regime of truth' that establishes the *banlieues* and *cités* as populated by welfare cheats and violent youth will have a very real influence on the ways in which people live and act within these places²³.

Holloway and Hubbard (2001: 144) argue that collectively, “representations of a place are very much responsible for shaping the meanings which different individuals attach to a place”. This thesis focuses on the differences and conflicts that exist within these representations and on the multiplicity of meanings that people attribute to place in French housing estates. As such, I have both looked at how the *banlieues* and housing estates are constituted from outside and at the ways in which they are represented by speaker-positions located within these demonised spaces (see Sato 2007). I was attentive to the disruptions and breaches in the hegemonic regime of representation that such re-representations produce, even if these are only temporary (see Clarke *et al.* 1975; Stuart Hall 1997b). My aim

²³ See Stuart Hall (1997a: 49) for a parallel with the regime of truth that establishes single parenting as a reason for crime and delinquency.

to show that residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods are not passive subjects but active agents in the scripting of counter-hegemonic strategies that challenge their own subjectification and the stigmatisation of their place of residence²⁴.

A number of social theorists (e.g. Bourdieu 1972, 1980, 1984, 1990; Bourdieu and Passeron 1964; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Giddens 1979, 1984; New 2007; Dorothy Smith 1990) have worked on the specific issue of how humans challenge and change the social structures that they inhabit. These understandings are facilitated by adopting an interpretivist ontology. This suggests that the meanings and the categories that are applied to social phenomena and social action are perpetually being reinterpreted by actors (see Berger and Luckmann 1991; Bruner 1990; Wenger 1998). Adapting an interpretivist ontology opens up a vision of local actors as beings in possession of a situated agency (C. Hay 2011). They are seen as endowed, within a specific historical and geographic context, with the capacity to innovate within objective structures. This suggests that they can partly redefine and negotiate the meanings that mainstream discourses would otherwise constitute and establish as fixed. Interpretivists state that cultures and organisations within which social actors evolve are not pre-given entities. Instead, they are the results of interaction and provisional consent and consensus of agents in the social realm (e.g Kuhn [1996] and Latour and Woolgar [1979]). However, this study does not claim that there is no such things as cultures and institutions. My contention is that cultures and institutions constrain social participants even as they are constantly made and remade. However, they also emerge as points of reference from which change can be constituted (see Searle 2005). The psychologist Albert Bandura (2000, 2006) has made this point in his development of social cognitive theory that rejects the duality between social structure and human agency. For him, social systems are created by people and these, in turn, organise and influence our lives but we always retain the capacity to reinterpret and remake. This point has also been made within the fields of sociology (Giddens 1991) and human geography (Bassett 1999) and it has been pushed theoretically to the fore by feminist scholars (e.g. Afshar 2008; A. Allen 1999;

²⁴ A number of scholars based at the University of Erlangen, in Germany, have a shared concern with the articulation of discursive counter-hegemonic speaker-positions in marginalised urban quarters (Germes 2011; Glasze *et al.* 2010, 2012; Tijé-Dra 2010, 2012). In a different context, Mayr's (2004) study of language in prisons provides a clear illustration of how power *necessarily* works alongside resistance to it (see also Foucault 1980).

Kohler Riessman 2000; Mann 1994; McNay 2000; Pratt 1990; see also the edited collection by Staeheli *et al.* 2004) as well as postcolonial thinkers (e.g. Bignal 2010; Nandy 2006 [1983]). The legal scholar Elizabeth Schneider (1993) insists on the false dichotomy between victimisation and agency while requesting the abandonment of 'dominance feminism'. These theorisations privilege a view of women as victims and she favours an adjusted view of women as resourceful and innovative in the face of oppression. Objective structures certainly influence the behaviour and actions of social agents but interpretivism holds that these structural influences are not entirely determinant. Social agents are the bearers of subjective creativity and, as such, they have the power to innovate and intervene throughout their life course, as individuals or as groups (Giddens 1979; Heinz and Krüger 2001; Lin 2001; Musolf 2003). Most residents of French *cités* will be acutely aware of the representations, the reputations and the stigmatising labels that apply to their neighbourhoods. This does not mean that they accept these to be 'true', and interpretivism assumes the possibility of contestation over readily accepted understandings and forms of knowledge.

The examination of the subjective meanings that residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods attach to the place in which they live allows for a rethinking of the processes of labelling, stigmatisation and the internalisation of stigma. It also opens up questions of counter-stigmatisation and of the multiple ways of coping with stigma that are practiced locally. As chapter 2 has shown, a number of qualitative researchers have summarised the consequences of territorial stigmatisation as leading to an internalisation of stigmatic imagery and language into the fabric of the 'tainted place' and the minds of its residents. An interpretivist lens, however, can reveal the meanings that residents of French housing estates attach to the areas where they live. It is through their descriptions and narratives, recorded during ethnographic research, through in-depth semi-structured interviews that I came to grasp their ideas regarding stigmatisation and neighbourhood representation.

3.3 - Research design

3.3.1 - Review of documents

Embarking on the research project, my first step was the exploration of textual representations of *banlieues* in novels and works of art²⁵. Documentary films about the so-called *banlieues* are numerous and I tried to see as many as I could with an eye for the ways in which the stigmatised suburban neighbourhoods are depicted and an ear for the language that was used²⁶. A survey of the representation of housing estates and *banlieues* on popular television shows was done in large part through websites such as Youtube or Dailymotion²⁷. I also explored the many full length movies that emanate from the *banlieues* themselves. Although depictions of the *banlieues* in cinema are as old as cinema itself (Fourcaut 2000c), a whole genre has recently emerged from these places and has come to be labelled the '*film de banlieue*' (Chibane and Chibane 2003; Mongin 1995; Mottet 2001; Tarr 2005; Shama and Shama 2000; Siciliano 2007)²⁸. I was keen to find out how depictions in those movies differed from the documentary 'realities' that could be found in the TV news (see also Boyer and Lochard 1998; Deltombe and Rigouste 2006; Hargreaves 1994; Péralva and Macé 2002; Sedel 2009a).

In June 2009, I spent over a week reviewing periodicals and a wide diversity of media sources. I focused on three national newspapers that accurately span the political spectrum of France's written media (*Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Libération*) and I looked at one regional paper (*Le Midi Libre*). Because magazines are so popular in France, I also consulted articles

²⁵ See Papieau (1996) for a detailed exploration of the aesthetic representations of and discourses about the *banlieues*. Her book was very helpful in allowing me to find literary references as well as in enabling me to 'see' nineteenth and twentieth century art that represented *banlieues* landscapes in different ways: as talking to and giving visual form to hygienist or paternalistic discourses. See also Hargreaves and McKinney (1997).

²⁶ E.g.: *Chroniques de la Violence Ordinaire*, directed by Pierre Bourgeois, David Carr-Brown and Patricia Bodet (France Télévisions Distribution, 2005); *9.3 Mémoire d'un Territoire*, directed by Yamina Benguigui (Zylo Distribution, 2009); *365 Jours à Clichy-Montfermeil*, directed by Ladj Ly (Kourtrajmé Productions, 2007).

²⁷ These are numerous and spread over a large number of television shows. Some have made a claim to serious investigative journalism (*Enquête Exclusive*, *Zone Interdite...*), while others have adopted a genre that resembles a mix between reality television and documentary form, similar to *Cops* in the United States (*Planète Choc*, *90' d'Enquête...*).

²⁸ The genre has acquired a Wikipedia page with an updated list of films:

http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cat%C3%A9gorie:Film_sur_la_banlieue_fran%C3%A7aise

that included the words '*banlieue*', '*cité*', '*quartier*' or any of their correlatives (eg. '*jeune de banlieue*'; '*zone urbaine sensible*'; '*ghettoïsation*') in a number of highly read weeklies (*Le Point*, *L'Express*, *Le Figaro Magazine*, *Paris Match*, *Valeurs Actuelles*, *Marianne*). During this time, I made a list of headlines that related to *banlieues* in general and spanning the course of approximately four years²⁹. I found that since the urban unrest of 2005, the linguistic style and the semantics used when the *banlieues* were addressed had changed relatively little. Examining the works of Sedel (2007; 2009a; 2011b), Macé (1999), Rigouste (2004), Deltombe (2006) and Boyer and Lochard (1998) confirmed that this type of linguistic description had been in use well before the riots. Intertextuality³⁰ has been at work before, during and since the riots within the journalistic field (Olive *et al.* 2010).

Comparing what these multiple media of representation have to say about France's housing estates was an important step in determining where I would conduct the ethnographic fieldwork for this research. Not only was there an overwhelming sense that urban areas targeted for 'improvement' by urban policy were represented in similar (often negative) ways by political elites and in the field of the media, but there also appeared to be counter-representations emanating from the stigmatised neighbourhoods (e.g. Derderian 1997; El Yazami 1997; Grewal 2011; Hargreaves 1997b; Sedel 2011a). An interest in the intensive period of rioting that took place in 2005 yielded a wide ranging set of different readings, linked in large part to the representative framework that is adopted within the given interpretive field. For instance, activists and some scholars ascribe intentionality to periods of urban unrest as collective acts motivated by proto-political aspirations (Khiari 2006; Mauger 2006b; Mucchielli and Le Goaziou 2006a, 2006b; Olive *et al.* 2010; Onana *et al.* 2006). I became fascinated with those 'sensitive urban zones' that had not responded to the nation-wide acts of spontaneous urban unrest in 2005. The review of documents had guided me to reformulate my research question: if rioting was a form of active (proto)political

²⁹ This period of time was not chosen randomly as I chose the deaths of Zyed and Bouna in 2005 (on the 27th of October), which turned out to be the spark for almost a month of urban unrest, as my start-off date. However, it is clear that the stigma has much deeper historical roots, as I demonstrate in chapter 4.

³⁰ 'Intertextuality' is a term that was introduced by Julia Kristeva (1980) and partly developed in later years by the social theorist Gérard Genette work on 'paratexts' (1997 [1987]). Intertextuality suggests that the meaning of one given textual representation is made through the borrowing and the reproduction in whole or in part of a number of other texts that communicate and flow into each other (see Agger 1999; G. Allen 2000; Orr 2003; Worton and Still 1990).

resistance to territorial stigmatisation, then was resistance absent from housing estates that did not riot? My choice of fieldwork site was thus confirmed by the fact that none of the housing estates of that city had manifested any active form of contestation in the streets during the heated month of November 2005. I was curious to understand whether this made Pissevin and Valdegour residents the passive victims and observers of territorial stigmatisation. Of course, Nîmes' housing estates have at times erupted into violence. In 2003, the 17 year old Mourad Belmoukhtar was shot in the head at close range by police forces. Youths from Valdegour rioted for several days when the news that one of their residents had been killed while unarmed and posing no direct threat. Urban unrest erupted once again in Valdegour and Pissevin when the officer who had shot the young man was acquitted, in October 2009 (Rouagdia 2009). I decided that it was in these two sites that I would investigate the potential for residents of *cités* to cope with life under conditions of stigma. Did these residents find ways of resisting the negative representations that affix themselves to place in everyday forms that differed from the highly visible act of urban unrest?

3.3.2 - Study-sites: Pissevin and Valdegour

Described as “models” and “laboratories” of urban analysis (Nijman 2000: 135), 'paradigmatic cities' have made regular appearances in urban geographical literatures. Chicago became a classic example of this after the ethnographic works of the 1920s and 1930s (Bulmer 1986: 1-12; see also Short 1971)³¹. In a country as heavily centralised as France, urban research has tended to focus on the capital-city. As such, examples of places that suffer from territorial stigmatisation have been studied in and around the Parisian *banlieues*. For instance, Loïc Wacquant's work has been pivotal in framing contemporary debates about territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant 1992, 1993b, 2007a, 2007b, 2010). Much of his writing is based upon empirical examples that are taken from his fieldwork experience in the housing estate of Les 4000, in La Courneuve, a *banlieue* town to the North of Paris. Other academics have also chosen to concentrate their research in neighbourhoods that are

³¹ See Sampson (2012) for the persistence of this model.

located around Paris (Avery 1987; Bacqué and Fol 1997; Bacqué and Sintomer 2001; Jamin 2004; Kepel 2012a, 2012b) and, at times, they make the claim that their ethnographic findings there could be applicable to *banlieues* and other neighbourhoods elsewhere in France (Body-Gentrot and Withol de Wenden 2007; Fourcaut 1993; Pétonnet 1982; Tribalat 1999). There have nonetheless been calls reminding researchers that urban research findings, while applying to a local context, have certain limits with regards to how far they can be generalised and applied to other settings (J. Abu-Lughod 1997). Researching estates that are located outside the Parisian metropolis offers the possibility of testing these generalisations. Thrift's (2000) view is that one size does not fit all when it comes to examining cities. Moreover, Bell and Jayne (2006, 2009) state that researching 'small cities' is useful in testing dominant theories and enhancing our broader understanding of urban worlds. They add that thinking about cities that are not metropolises allows us to rethink urban orders and taken-for-granted urban hierarchies (Bell and Jayne 2009: 696). This is a useful echo to work by Jennifer Robinson (2002, 2005, 2008) who advocates referring to cities as 'ordinary' to help break away from the hierarchical relations between cities. She is supported by Ash Amin and Stephen Graham (1997), who also advocate a move towards 'ordinary cities' and stress that the study of smaller urban areas can reveal the heterogeneity between cities as well as the economic, cultural, institutional and social differences that inhabit each one.

As mentioned above, my interest in the study of 'smaller' cities also stems from the November 2005 riots. During that time, the French news reported regularly on acts of violence that were being perpetrated throughout France. Rioting was no novelty in the *banlieue* landscape but it had tended to be concentrated in areas around larger cities, like Paris, Lyon and Strasbourg. Never before had housing estates located in average sized French cities been noteworthy places for rioting (Sedel 2009a). Within the space of three weeks in November 2005, the local and national media was reporting on these places and the names of their *cités* gained national recognition as places of 'violence' (Balibar 2007; Bertho 2009; Sedel 2009a). While all this was taking place, Nîmes' *cités* did not take part in these unprecedented levels of nation-wide rioting (ONZUS 2009). This, in and of itself, made them somewhat of an anomaly within the French *banlieue* landscape and, as such, they

attracted my attention. They also fitted other aspects that I was looking for in a study site as *they are heavily stigmatised* (Andréani 2006; Bernié-Boissard 2000; Lafitte 1980; Liger 1987; Marconot 1988, 1990, 1994). Valdegour and Pissevin are laboratories for the implementation of the *politique de la ville* and have been the targets of various initiatives. As such, they are victims of the increased stigmatisation that accompanies mapping, naming and statistical profiling conducted via a number of urban policy institutions (see Dikeç 2007a). Jacques Donzelot (2006) emphasises the fact that the *politique de la ville* is currently a covert policy for the banlieues, which acts as a territorialised safety measure to preserve state authority, rather than a policy for the city and all its inhabitants. Pissevin and Valdegour are designated as 'sensitive urban zones' (ZUS) but they have also become neighbourhoods in which to test the application of a number of other measures. They are 'educational priority zones' (ZEP) and the *cit  * of Valdegour is one of only one hundred tax concession 'zones' (ZFU) that encourages the establishment of businesses³², with the failed results that I discuss in the next chapter.

Importantly, Valdegour and Pissevin are also *located within the city of N  mes*, which has consequences on the different meanings that 'being a N  mes resident' might have. Although they were intended to be constructed as one large *grand ensemble*, the topography of the landscape and the added construction of a two-by-two highway (avenue Kennedy) led to the physical separation of this neighbourhood into what appear to be two urban entities. Their proximity to each other and the fact that they both suffer from similar levels of stigmatisation make Valdegour and Pissevin ideal sites in which to examine the internalisation of negative representations of place. While this situation allowed me to interrogate what 'being a part of N  mes' means to residents of the estates, the sense of division between the central and historic urban area of N  mes was also investigated. At the same time, the differences that respondents feel exist between the *cit  * in which they live and the one on the other side of the avenue Kennedy and this could also be explored due to Pissevin and Valdegour's intriguing geography.

³² http://aren-zfu.org/fichier/circulaire_190503-61.pdf.

3.3.3 - Recruitment of respondents

Respondents were recruited over three main research periods. In Summer 2009 I began fieldwork in Nîmes with the intention of conducting a series of pilot interviews. I started by conducting a small number of interviews with people who live in the city of Nîmes but do not reside in a *cit  *. These first few interviews were conducted with people who were suggested to me via a network of acquaintances. My aim was to acquire some impression of the meanings that a small and diverse handful of *N  mois* give to the existence, the physical structure and the populations of the *cit  s* that stand within their city. In order to help elicit some of these understandings, I confronted these respondents with a series of pictures of Valdegour, Pissevin and N  mes' other two housing estates, taken from the *Midi Libre*. With these discussions in mind, I spent several days visiting the neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour. During that time, contacts with residents were infrequent and almost invariably involved those with whom I spoke displaying a profound lack of trust for the role of 'researcher'. I realised to what extent the role of 'gatekeeper' in gaining access to participants was an important one in places that suffer from research fatigue (see Mandel 2003). Although this first ethnographic attempt was not successful, it did lead me to refine the focus of my research topic. The difficulty that I encountered in finding resident participants led me to enlarge the primary target interview group. I knew that I was interested in how residents find ways of coping with territorial stigmatisation on an everyday basis and I decided to take the work of local associations into account. As I show later in this thesis, some of these participate in actively challenging stigma in the housing estates. This inclusion has had enormous benefits in establishing the necessary contacts that would allow me to come into contact with respondents without the mistrust that my research appeared to generate during the first trip.

The second and longest period of ethnographic fieldwork took place over seven months, from September 2009 to March 2010. During that time, I fully immersed myself in the neighbourhoods, spending considerable amounts of time in these spaces, helping with and becoming an active member of local associations, sitting in public spaces, in the library or social centres. I had regular conversations with people and became close to a number of

residents who often invited me to their homes, introduced me to friends and made suggestions as to where my research project should be heading. I often met with people who were involved in a relatively new local interest newspaper in Valdegour and I was asked to become their temporary co-secretary. I was elected during a general assembly of the association in early 2010. This allowed for regular contact with Valdegour's residents and I took the opportunity to 'follow' some of the amateur journalists during their writing process. My involvement led to the successful development of encounters with gatekeepers, defined by Passeron (1995) as 'relays' and as 'enablers and unifiers of sense'.

Before heading back to Nîmes for the second phase of fieldwork, I worked hard to plan a number of formal semi-structured. Contacts were established with associations that have headquarters in Pissevin and Valdegour via letter, email or, when possible, by telephone. This led to a number of fruitful encounters. I also wrote to the town hall of Nîmes requesting interviews with those in charge of urban policy in the city. In order to reach residents of Pissevin and Valdegour, I advertised in local newspapers and internet blogs. A post on the web-site of the regional *La Gazette de Montpellier* explained that I was interested in speaking with residents of Pissevin, Valdegour and anyone living in the immediate vicinity of the estates. I explained that I was keen to discuss territorial stigmatisation and the consequences that this has in and around the *cités*. Initial contact was made with only a handful of participants in this way but most referred me onto others. This led to the development of a very successful subset of purposive sampling known as chain-referral sampling (Teddle and Yu 2007). Also known as snowball sampling, early examples of this technique can be found in William Foot Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1955) and James Patrick's (1973) study of Glasgow gangs. In very simple terms, snowball sampling occurs when a research participant gives the researcher the names of other potential respondents who, in turn do the same (Vogt 1999). Noy (2008: 327) believes this method of sampling can generate a unique type of social knowledge that is emergent, political and interactional. As my own experience proved, it is also possibly the best technique in order to reach hidden or hard to reach populations during research periods (see also Atkinson and Flint 2001; Faugier and Sargeant 2008; Penrod *et al.* 2003).

The final fieldwork phase took place from early September to mid November 2010. In addition to revisiting the sites in which I had made my encounters and the headquarters of associations, I also followed up on the names that research participants had given me while I was away. Ultimately, in these final moments of fieldwork, I limited myself to conducting second interviews with those who demonstrated interest (four respondents) and to interviewing women, who had been somehow under-represented in previous interviews (perhaps in part due to the way in which snowball sampling tends to work [Atkinson and Flint 2001; Biernacki and Waldorf 1981]). For instance, a French-Arabic translator who I had interviewed previously referred me to two women who had recently arrived in one of the *cités*. She was present during the interviews and it is unlikely that I would have been able to come into contact with these participants without her.

Ultimately, I conducted 55 interviews and one group interview enabling contact with 65 people³³. 39 respondents were actual residents of the housing estates while the other 26 lived in other neighbourhoods, within the city of Nîmes. All respondents were over 20 years of age, 30 were women and the remaining 35 were men, of whom seven are 'elites' in urban planning, politics or senior civil servants working for the town hall of Nîmes. Importantly, one of these elites was also a resident of Pissevin and had been since the late 1960s. Another had once been a long-term resident of Pissevin and a medical practitioner in the estate before moving out altogether in the 1980s.

As previously mentioned, the possibility that those stigmatising categories that are associated with Pissevin and Valdegour might be resisted on some level led me to consider the efforts of social workers and associations that operate in the neighbourhoods. These individuals often operate with the explicit desire to challenge stigmatisation. Four interviews were conducted with social workers and twenty-five with people involved in associational work inside the *cités* (16 women and 9 men). Whether volunteers or employees, those involved included both residents of the housing estates (17) and non-residents (8) of the

³³ In four cases, I interviewed people in pairs: in the first case, a couple was interviewed in their house at the outskirts of Pissevin; in another case, I interviewed two shop-keepers in the historic centre of Nîmes; in the two final cases, I interviewed residents of Pissevin who are close friends. Six people were present during the group interview, at the headquarters of an association in Valdegour.

neighbourhoods³⁴. Importantly, people that are actively involved in associations, even when they are not residents of housing estates, tend to be granted a level of trust from other residents. On several occasions, I was referred onto 'users' of the associations, and the faith that they had in associational workers was invaluable in enabling relations of trust between me and the research subjects.

I am aware of the possibility that there may be bias present in snowball sampling, whereby friends with similar ideas and world-views give each other's reference to the eager researcher (Flick 2009: 110). Notwithstanding, the variety of categories of people interviewed for the purpose of the thesis ensured that I was able to triangulate the research data and better examine the discursive and counter-discursive constitutions of space. The words used by elites, for instance, and the understandings that they seemed to have about life in Pissevin and Valdegour could be contrasted to that of several other categories of people in Nîmes³⁵. As Appendix 1 shows, the interviewed groups are wide ranging and for each one, I attentively coded the language that was used in constituting housing estates and in the discussions relating to the future of these places and their residents. I compared particular expressions and the ways in which space was alluded to by each given category.

3.4 - Data collection and analysis

3.4.1 - Semi-structured interviews

My research is involved in an empathetic desire to understand the meanings that residents give to the stigmatised places that they inhabit. In order to compare the 'knowledges' that exist about Nîmes' housing estates, I also wished to elicit understandings that non-residents (whether elites in urban policy, associational workers or neighbours of the housing estates) have of Pissevin and Valdegour. Although interview methods are numerous (Atkinson 1998; Bryman 2004; Flick 2009; Hollway and Jefferson 2000; King and Horrocks 2010; Kvale and

³⁴ See Appendix 1 for a full break down of the respondent categories.

³⁵ As I have stated, one of these elites still lives in Pissevin while another lived *and* worked in Valdegour as a medical professional until the mid-1980s. This overlap has generated interesting data.

Brinkmann 2008; McCracken 1988; Rubin and Rubin 2012; Weiss 1994), I felt that semi-structured interviews would provide enough flexibility to get at the heart of representational issues during the interview itself (Kvale 1996; Wengraf 2001). The unfolding of the semi-structured interview allowed for improvisation and creativity on my part as the discussion proceeded. Denzin (1997) explains that semi-structured interview techniques allow for a rapport to be established between interviewer and interviewee and this can lead respondents to raise issues that they believe were not covered in the questions of the researcher. I never sent respondents questions before the interviews, and I was never asked for them. This allowed for interviews that were perhaps more dynamic than they might otherwise have been. Blanchet and Gotman (2010: 132) argue that situations in which participants are not made to prepare are beneficial to the data that will be generated during the interview.

Because of the varied categories of people that were interviewed for this project, a series of interview guides was drawn up (see Appendix 3). These were structured into three sections. The questions in the first section were aimed at establishing a level of trust with the respondents and ensuring that a rapport between us developed. This section dealt with questions relating to age, employment history and each respondents' individual relationship to the city of Nîmes. I was interested to know whether people were born and had grown up in the *cités* or whether they had been raised elsewhere. If so, I was curious to know whether they had moved to the estates from abroad or from another French region. Although all interview guides were fairly similar, the second section differed to some extent, depending on whether I was speaking to residents or non-residents and on whether I was talking with people who were actively engaged with the neighbourhood associations or not. In interviews with residents, I tried to discover more about the participants' experience of life in a housing estate and tried to discuss potential feelings of (not) belonging to such places as well as the potential sense of estrangement from the rest of the city. In interviews with associational workers (whether resident of *cités* or not), I tried to elicit understandings of the reasons that led to an engagement with associational life, and in Pissevin and Valdegour in particular. With non-residents, most of whom lived close to the estates, I tried to extract the diverse meanings that *cités* might have and I asked questions about what should be done with such

places. Finally, the third section was aimed at developing the thickest description of the ideas, experiences as well as the meanings and understandings that each respondent attached to Nîmes' housing estates, notwithstanding the category that I had grouped them under. It was very often the case that respondents had given this some thought prior to our meeting and some came armed with written notes.

Interviews with town hall officials and urban planning civil servants were prepared specifically for the person in question and all were conducted in the offices of those concerned. Two interviews were conducted within the town hall itself: with the deputy mayor in charge of security and the deputy mayor in charge of city planning. Both agreed to be identified and their positions to be mentioned in the thesis. Other elite interviews were conducted in the relevant office buildings and interviewees required that their names remain confidential. When asked about my research project, I was very clear and explained the research question in as much detail as was needed. In a few instances, I have had my interviewees offer to help gain access to other people on my target list. Gaining a proper rapport with elites is highlighted as being of importance. These respondents can become essential informants and gatekeepers to further vital participants in the research project (K. Goldstein 2002: 671).

3.4.2 - Interview experiences

Regardless of the category of person that I interviewed, I was at all times concerned not to enter into the interview process with a check-list of things that I was expecting to hear. Launching into a field-site with *a priori* ideas of what one is expecting to find can result in biased data and frustration (Flick 2009). Researchers cannot truly escape the fact that they have a hypothesis but this is different to explicitly hunting for one's expectations. McDowell (2001: 94) is right to insist on the 'chancy business' of conducting interviews and ensuring that the process becomes "a conversation with a purpose" (Valentine 2005 [1997]: 111) is a difficult procedure with no right or wrong way. 'Learning-by-doing' is the only way of developing an adequate interviewing technique, yet each interview dynamic was different

and independent of the semi-artificial 'categories' of people that I have created. The average length of interviews was between one and two hours. All but three respondents accepted that I record the interview. In these situations, I took copious notes and transcribed them as soon as possible.

In a number of cases, I made appointments over the phone and during this brief exchange with potential respondents some asked whether we might be able to get the interview 'over with' via telephone. I objected in all cases, arguing that I needed to make all interviewees sign a consent form (see Appendix 2) and that a face to face encounter would be more productive for my research. In many organisational phone conversations, it was made clear to me that the participant had some reservations about potentially 'wasting their time' without financial remuneration. I was never asked about pay directly and would have refused to grant such requests.

I felt that, as drafted, my research project was in more than one way critical of urban policy makers' reading of housing estates and of the needs and desires of residents that live in these places. For this reason, I was often a little concerned prior to interviewing elites in urban policy or from the town hall who might have reacted negatively to my project. I was also aware of warnings about the power imbalances that often develop during elite interviewing. Katharine Smith (2006) and Gareth Rice (2010) caution researchers about managing expectations prior to each encounter (see also Kvale 2006 on power asymmetries during interviews). Notwithstanding, if in two cases respondents did seem desirous to steer the interview towards a political agenda, I was not aware of imbalances of power relations during interviews that I conducted with elites and my research project was treated with utmost respect and, in some cases, enthusiasm. A senior civil servant who, although consistently friendly, labelled my project as "lacking the objectivity required in a doctoral thesis" during the interview later telephoned a number of times to recommend articles and find out where to send me documents. Importantly, I was emailed by a resident of Pissevin who stated that my contact details had been given to them by the civil servant in question. This was further proof that, notwithstanding our disagreements about the project, the respondent was happy to see people engaging with Pissevin and Valdegour.

The location in which interviews take place is highlighted as being of importance (Kvale 1996; Kvale and Brinkmann 2008). Interviews with non-residents of Pissevin or Valdegour took place in a variety of different places. For instance, professional and volunteer representatives of associations sometimes asked me to rendezvous at their home. This allowed for me to make connections between the associational life that these respondents lead in the *cités* and other types of associational commitments that they might have had. I took note of everything that demonstrated a life of political engagement and activism beyond the housing estates.

Other non-resident professionals were interviewed within the *cités*. In these instances, prior arrangements had almost always been made to introduce me to residents, take me on a local tour of the surrounding area, or present me to other associations. Participants were keen on doing two things: demonstrating that the neighbourhood was in need of increased governmental help; while maintaining that it was a place that people had grown to appreciate, like and invest in positively. All non-residents of Pissevin and Valdegour who worked in associations in these places insisted on their own fondness for these places. Contact with associations was made directly and I received a great readiness to discuss the work that they were doing and the aims of their organisation. I was often invited to visit locales and to attend meetings, either actively or passively. Associational workers were happy to introduce me to other members, whether professionally involved or volunteers. This was a great resource and I conducted several interviews in associational headquarters. Often, as I interviewed one person, others would come in and add their own opinions to what was being said by the respondent, creating interesting dynamics.

All but two of the interviews with residents of the housing estates were conducted in the *cités* themselves. On those two occasions where I met with respondents elsewhere, a café in the historic centre was chosen. However, most of those with whom I spoke did not have access to cars and I would have felt uneasy asking people to use public transportation. In a relatively small number of cases, I was invited into people's homes. However, participants often appeared reluctant to let me into the privacy of their apartment. This, it seems, was

out of a need to 'control' the interview in terms of time. I always let the respondent pick a place of their choosing and I would meet them there at the appropriate time equipped with my voice recorder, a note pad and pen. In very few cases was I asked not to record the interview. This was linked to a misunderstanding on the part of the respondent who thought all I wanted was an informal chat and perhaps a referral to 'someone more useful'. This did not make our encounters less productive.

In most cases, my status as non-resident of the housing estates turned out to be helpful. Jody Miller (2001), who interviewed mostly African-American female gang members for the purpose of her research, explains that contrary to expectations, it was an advantage to be middle class and white. Being totally 'other' as a researcher, the women that she interviewed spent considerable time describing their every-day lives. Similarly, in Pissevin and Valdegour, respondents explained everything about their housing estates in great detail and communicated a desire to share their everyday experiences within the neighbourhoods. My 'exteriority' seemed to facilitate a relationship between researcher and 'translator' (Miller and Glassner 2004). Participants need "an imaginative ability to objectify one's own culture for a foreigner, so as to present it in a number of ways" (Rabinow 1977: 95; see also Paterson 2009: 780; Clair 2008; Flick 2009). As such, individual counter-histories of Nîmes' *cités* were introduced to me as well as competing narratives from respondents intent on representing their place of residence in an alternative light. To the people with whom I talked, I was definitely an outsider who needed things explained in detail. However, my approach and its interest with the language relating to space made me aware of these competing representations spoken by each respondent depending on age, gender and origins.

3.4.3 - Transcription and analysis of the data

As with interviewing, there is no best method for transcribing interviews (Longhurst 2010). In most cases, I chose to apply a rigorous method of transcription. I attempted to transcribe interviews soon after they had taken place. This was useful in that each transcription led to the generation of new ideas and topics to be raised for further discussion during future encounters. Invariably, respondents raised issues and themes that I felt I would like to know more about in the context of neighbourhood stigma. Examples are abundant and have included what some participants thought was an increasing presence of the *hijab* worn by women in the *cités*; 'gang' fights with youths from other housing estates in Nîmes and the nearby town of Saint-Gilles; the number of festivals and positively charged events that take place in the housing estates and no-where else in the Nîmes; and the lack of a 'traditional' neighbourhood shops (ie. non-Halal butchers, an apparently excessive amount of kebab shops, and so forth). Each of these topics was mentioned in interviews and led me to investigate further once I had transcribed the comments. After each interview, I took notes in my research-diary. I described the mood of the interview session, my own impressions as well as the respondent's non-verbal communication. I referred back to these notes during transcription and added to them as I went about the process of typing each interview out in full. When these are relevant, I included the information in italics. If I believe it to be of importance I have included these annotations within this thesis. When indicating that there is a pause, I used ellipses. When these are placed within brackets, this signifies the fact that I have cut text from the transcribed data because it seemed irrelevant.

The coding of interview data is entirely dependent on the questions one is asking and as such there is no exact way of undertaking this (Crang 2005). For the purposes of this thesis, I had highlighted a number of concepts, themes and topics taken from the documentary analysis conducted in the early days of the research. New theoretical concepts and ideas were identified during the first series of interviews and I looked for patterns and re-occurring words and statements in further interviews. I compared and contrasted these according to the groupings of respondents that I have established (e.g. resident of housing estate/non-resident of housing estate/civil servant involved in urban policy/volunteer in association).

For example, I looked for the 'penetration' of certain concepts from urban policy - that were usually articulated during elite interviews - in the language and articulation of meaning that residents of Pissevin and Valdegour used during discussions. I was particularly attentive to the language of these residents and to the opposing of ideas and conceptualisations that tended to be spoken by non-*cité* residents. For instance, the description of how green and lively Pissevin or Valdegour are stands in direct contrast to the mainstream outsider vision of *cités* as greying, dilapidated and menacing. Discussions relating to how energised and vibrant some *cité* youths are an attempt to counter the popular understandings that these adolescents are 'loitering', 'lazy' or engaged in criminal activities.

Most importantly, I was attentive during both transcription and the coding of interview data to the words that defined each residents' way of coping with neighbourhood taint. I recorded these as they were used and classified them according to whether they indicated frustration, despair, anxiety, ambivalence or whether they suggested positive links with the place of residence. When the stigma - or the reasons for it - were seemingly rejected by residents, I tried to classify the ways in which this was done according to Cindi Katz's three 'Rs' of resistance that I discussed in chapter 2 (Katz 2004): 'resilience', 'reworking' and 'resistance'. Although it usually felt as though those residents who were unhappy with their neighbourhoods' reputation were often enacting re-representations that drew on more than one of these 'Rs', it was ultimately a useful way to think through the elusive and foggy conceptualisation of 'resistance'.

3.5 - Representation and reflexivity

“[R]eflexivity is a self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious *analytical* scrutiny of the self as researcher. Indeed, reflexivity is critical to the conduct of fieldwork; it induces self-discovery and can lead to insights and new hypotheses about the research questions. A more reflexive and flexible approach to fieldwork allows the researcher to be more open to any new challenges to their theoretical position that fieldwork almost inevitably raises” (England, 1994: 84).

A 2006 drawing by Chapatte, a French cartoonist, entitled “*Les banlieues se rallument*” (‘the *banlieues* flare up again’), portrays a burning bus against a backdrop of what are instantly recognisable *cité* buildings. The sign on the front of the bus states that it is headed into an anonymous ‘*banlieue*’ and it is adorned by the blue, white and red flag of the French Republic. While the bus driver stands by with a fire extinguisher, a passer-by informs him not to worry: “The sociologists will be here any minute!” This cartoon is useful in reminding the researcher that certain areas are literally over-researched. To some extent, the existence of research fatigue was noticeable in the reactions of residents during my first unsuccessful fieldwork experience. During that time, a number of residents explained that they did not have the energy or desire to respond to questions about stigmatisation. On one of these encounters, I was told by a resident that my presence and the ways in which I asked questions gave me away as someone who ‘wanted to change things’ in the neighbourhood. His belief was that this desire would only attract the scorn of other residents, frustrated by the endless promises made by people ‘like me’. The regular reminders of the stigmatisation that their neighbourhood has to bear is a noticeable source of irritation and the presence of a researcher is yet another demonstration of this stigma.

Research fatigue is generally reported in contexts where repeated contacts with researchers lead to little or no change and when the aims and ambitions of the research group come into conflict with that of the researcher (Clark 2008; Mandel 2003). In addition, Norman Denzin (2001) has rightly pointed out that “[t]he present moment is [...] defined by increased resistance from minority groups to the interviews done by white university and governmental officials” (p.25). Indeed, it is felt by some that ethnography and academic interviews re-establish a number of hierarchies, even as they may be claiming to challenge these (see Bourdieu 1999 [1993]; Leservoisier 2005). Although the respondents who participated in this project would no doubt object to the label of ‘minority’, the objectification of people and place through research in areas such as Pissevin and Valdegour may well have led the very word ‘research’ becoming “the dirtiest word” in the language of some residents (see Pitts and Smith 2007). In Pissevin and Valdegour, the problem is not necessarily that of being over-researched. Marconot (1988, 1994) and Jazouli (1995) are the

only authors of works that deal with Nîmes' housing estates. However, it is "common knowledge" in French housing estates that researchers are essentially "wasting the time of residents through pointless interviews that lead to nothing" (Jouenne 2007: 12). This is also dependent upon a context where residents are increasingly becoming the objects of the state's gaze and of the increased scrutiny to which their places of residence are subjected. Despite the initial periods of distrust people did meet with me eventually, and I was accepted in the headquarters of associations on a regular basis. Clark (2010, 2011) reviews the reasons for which people engage with qualitative research and at an individual level, this can be out of curiosity and subjective interest. At the collective level, he states that the reasons identified by researchers include empowerment, representation and informing 'change'. As long as one's work is not perceived to provoke 'disruption', involves 'intrusion' or can be construed as 'mis-representing', then Clark (2011) sees it as likely that gatekeepers will support the research project.

Bourdieu's work has highlighted the extent to which a researcher in 'the field' needs to be reflexive³⁶ (1984; see also Swartz 1997: 270-283). However, he does warn that auto-ethnography and reflexivity can at times "substitute the facile delights of self-exploration for the methodical confrontation with the gritty realities of the field" (Bourdieu 2003 [1997]: 282; see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 36-41). My question related to whether those who reside in places that are stigmatised develop a capacity for resistance against stigmatisation. I was nonetheless acutely aware that I had chosen specific places to research. These places are 'renowned' in stereotypically negative ways and my 'studying' them might well add to the vicious circle of representation. I could have chosen to keep the names of Pissevin and Valdegour silenced in order not to repeat the link between their name and territorial stigmatisation. The technique that consists in not naming the field of study in order to avoid these associations has been used by several researchers from urban sociology who resort to inventing names (Lapeyronnie 2008; Ley 1974; Ribert 2006; Bidou-Zachariasen 1997). However, Hastings (2004) and Dean and Hastings (2000) and Hastings and Dean (2003) do not believe this to be a necessary aspect of presenting the research when it is

³⁶ See in particular his *Sketch for a Self-Analysis* (2007) where he further develops the needs (and potential dangers) for reflexivity in an auto-analysis of himself and of the role of the social scientist more specifically.

clear that one's work is actively involved in finding ways of challenging stigma. On several occasions, I interrogated interviewees about keeping the names of the *cités* invisible from this thesis but I was always told that this would make the research valueless. One respondent explained that if my work was so intent on understanding stigma, I should "explain that there is no shame in living here" and develop the positive points in order to "give a good image" of the estates. Considering that the research presented in this thesis is a work of critique, that addresses the contextually constituted representations of the neighbourhoods of study, I agree with this participant's statements. I thought it was important to name the neighbourhoods even if this highlighted the negative attention of which they are so often the victims. In addition, the fact that many respondents actively took part in narratives of counter-stigmatisation of their estates gives space to a rebranding and re-representation of the *cités* according to internally produced meanings and signification processes. Valdegour and Pissevin become, in a number of respondent voices, reproduced as sites of contestation.

The writings of Harding (1986), Hartsock (1987) and Haraway (1991) all highlight the fact that all forms of knowledge and meaning are contextual in nature. These challenging insights push us to understand scholarly works as partisan and partial in their theory construction, inquiry and representation (Merrifield 1995: 50; see also McDowell 1991, 1992; Jackson 1991, 1993; Rose 1997a). In effect, we are increasingly attentive to the role of the analyst: 'me', the researcher (Marcus 1992). Importantly, because all knowledge is 'situated' (Haraway 1988, 1991), the biography of the researcher needs to be considered throughout the creative process. Such post-positivist research sees it as essential that positionality is determined during the entire research process and, crucially, during the writing up of results (Cook 2005; England 1994; Gilbert 1997; Kohler Riessman 1993; Pitts and Smith 2007; Sidaway 2000). David M. Smith (1994, 1997, 1998) argues that it is an absolute necessity to keep one's moral imagination alive during qualitative research, since we live in a "vast network of social relationships" (D.M. Smith 1998: 49). This 'moral imagination' may be understood as "an ability to imaginatively discern various possibilities for acting within a given situation and to envision the potential harm and help that are likely to result from a given action" (Johnson 1993: 202). As I have stated in respect to the idea of researcher as

‘stranger’, I have been aware of my position as white and middle-class as well as being someone with dual citizenship (French and British). Throughout the research process, I was mindful of Ian Hay’s (2003: 41) adaptation of the Tri-Council Working Group’s (1997) three research principles: justice; beneficence/non-maleficence (doing no harm) and respect for others (acknowledging the right for persons to hold views, make choices or take actions based on personal values).

It is important to acknowledge that I am not a resident of a *cité* and that. As such, I can only gain a partial understanding of the lived experiences of my participants. What is more, I am wary of the fact that residents of so-called *banlieues* have become the targets of numerous state surveys that have the potential to perpetuate their own feelings of isolation and of ‘being-different’. Following from this point, one of the main dilemmas in the thesis is that it engages in the very mapping that I aim to criticise. Even while I attempt to create a space for *cité* residents to speak out for themselves, there is a risk that I may be contributing to the very reification that I denounce. Ruggiero (2003) suggests sociologists of ‘deviance’ have some degree of responsibility for creating the deviance of which they speak. Laura Nader (1972) warns not to “study the poor and powerless because everything you say about them will be used against them” (quoted in Bourgois 2003 [1996]: 18). Stacey (1988) also warns that ethnography can be harmful as it relies upon exploiting interpersonal relationships. This is just one of the reasons why researching ‘fragile places’ and their residents entails an array of considerations. These have in large part been addressed in a variety of settings by ethnographers of ‘fragile populations’ (Auyero and Swinstun 2009; Bourgois 2003 [1996]; Bourgois and Schonberg 2009; Contreras 2013; Foff Paules 2001; Newman 1999). All share a deep awareness for the potential that the fruits of their research might contribute to further damaging the portrayals of people and place and this is an important concern to have prior to embarking on any study of territorial stigmatisation (see also Sidaway 2000).

Landscapes are readable in very different ways and their meaning is often different from one person to the next (Duncan 1995). At all times, I was wary not to impose my own vision of these landscapes onto the people with whom I interacted and I accepted the ‘messiness’ of these multiple representations even as the imperatives of research impelled me to sort,

clarify and highlight the links that exist between them. The rendering of these representations through transcription and analysis of the ethnography will necessarily present a "partial perspective" (Haraway 1988). Notwithstanding, even as this work can only be incomplete, "it can also give a voice to the voiceless, bring critical attention to the disenfranchised" as well as offer fresh perspectives to the researcher and others interested in the topic at hand (Leblanc 1999: 21). I have, to the best of my abilities, tried to discover the experiential account of *cité* residents' everyday lives and their constructions of stigma and possible resistance. I have privileged my participants' subjectivity and let people speak on their own terms even if this meant that they first had to challenge my role as researcher before responding to my questions. Of course, I have been constantly aware of Spivak's (1988) warning about the inability of the subaltern ever being able to speak. There were groups of people with whom I did not engage, and even if I had, it would have been an exercise of extreme difficulty to avoid re-writing them as 'other' in this text. This is a warning that is also expressed by bell hooks (1990). This thesis cannot pretend to have helped bring about greater visibility to those marginalised groups, and although this is problematic in some ways, hooks is right to question whether increased visibility would lead to greater resistance against marginalisation. Notwithstanding these representational difficulties, I have always kept in mind the fact that "incautious practice and lack of awareness can lead to community denial of research privileges" (I. Hay 2003: 39). As a researcher, one must be attentive to methods that are the most 'morally aware' and 'non-hierarchical' (Pain 2004: 652) and I have attempted to take heed of this warning at all times during the research process.

The acknowledgement of the power dynamics in the relationship between 'investigator' and 'informant' as well as the social construction of knowledge that derives from interviews, participant-observation and ethnographic work is important in order to achieve the ethicality of research material (Bourgois and Schonberg 2009: 14; see also Kvale 2006; Longhurst 2003). On the other hand, Nancy-Scheper Hughes states that:

"seeing, listening, touching, recording, can be, if done with care and sensitivity, acts of fraternity and sisterhood, acts of solidarity. Above all they are the work of recognition. Not to look, not to touch, not to record, can be the hostile act, the

act of indifference and of turning away." (quoted in Auyero and Swistun 2009: 14)³⁷.

Power dynamics also need to be recognised and caution needs to be replicated during the transcription process of the data. One of my major concerns in this respect has involved issues of translation. A large volume of the documents with which I have worked are written in French and translating those was fairly straightforward, even as it needs to be recognised that some part of meaning is always lost in such a process. Interview data, on the other hand, is more difficult to 'convert' from one language to the next. So much is already lost in the process of transcription, such as accents, the inflections and the body language that accompany speech (Bourgois and Schonberg 2009: 12; see also Gates 1988). A number of the people that I interviewed spoke a colloquial language that is lost in the process of translation. The southern French Provençal pronunciation that is common to Nîmes was at times mixed with accents originating from other world-regions. What is more, some residents of French housing estates and *banlieues* are described as adopting (and adapting) a 'language of the banlieues' (Melliani 2000; see also Duchêne 2002; Jamin 2004). This involves appropriations from other languages, an accented enunciation of certain words and the use of linguistic codes such as *verlan*³⁸. Although researchers transcribing in French sometimes choose to attempt a phonetic transcription of their data, this runs the risk of further alienating 'cultural others' for the reader³⁹. I have transcribed interviews, deliberately ignoring grammatical mistakes and omitting attempts at rendering accents and representations of styles of talk that would have appeared more '*cité*'. Had I done this, readers may have imagined similarities between French housing estates residents and those residing in spaces located in English-language contexts. This, of course, is something I am keen to avoid in this thesis. For the same reason, I have run the risk of producing disembodied voices because I have refused to give respondents pseudonyms. In research that has been conducted in French housing estate neighbourhoods, when pseudonyms are

³⁷ Florence Weber (1989) speaks of "listening, observation and 'being-with'" to promote the ethics of research.

³⁸ This is linguistic word-play and slang that inverts the syllables in a word. The word '*verlan*' is an example of this. It is derived from inverting the syllables of the word '*l'envers*', which means 'the inverse' and is pronounced '*lan-ver*' (Azra and Cheneau 2004). See Pred (1989) on locally language and local struggles.

³⁹ See Bourgois and Schonberg (2009: 12-13) for an detailing of these concerns in English. See Bourgois (2003 [1996]) for concerns relating to transcription into another language.

given, it is often the case that these replicate the origins of the respondent. Although I stress the importance of race as bound up with studies of territorial stigmatisation, I believe that it is not the purpose of this paper to give textual representations of participants as 'second or third generation immigrants. When I have deemed it to be useful, I have described a respondent's ethnicity but I have avoided giving them names that might reproduce the *banlieues* as ethnic places. Suffice it to say that French housing estates are incredibly multicultural - as highlighted by Wacquant (2008a) - and that I have, in my interviews talked with people of North African, Sub-Saharan African and European descent. They have expressed views that were mostly similar and, as such, I have tried not to accentuate differences that did not matter to the argument of this thesis.

3.6 - Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained why an interpretivist framework was chosen. I have shown that the research is founded upon a desire to understand the multiple ways through which the residents of Nîmes' *banlieues* come to cope with the territorial stigma that is attached to their neighbourhoods. I have explained that I chose a relatively small city in the interest of refined and nuanced research and I have specified why I opted to study the two neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour. During the course of my research, I used a number of methods that have included document analysis with a focus on the discursive constitution of *cités*, elite interviewing and semi-structured interviews with residents. This has allowed me to achieve the triangulation of my research data. I have demonstrated that this was the most effective way of showing how the concepts and categories that are related to the French *banlieues* have been constructed socially. In addition, I have analysed the issue that was linked to my 'position' as a non-resident postgraduate student and I have demonstrated the need for a certain level of reflexivity when studying neighbourhoods that are targets of territorial stigmatisation.

Chapter 4 - French *banlieues* and housing estates

"[T]hose who remain within proximity of the central city do so because they do not have the means to stray from it or to fund the daily trips in and out of it, and they are held by the need to wait for occasions of employment, to pick up the crumbs that might fall from the table"

Paul Vidal de Blache (1915: 433)

*"In the periphery, criminogenic environments have been created,
quite involuntarily, by urban planners"*

Ali Habib (*Le Monde*, 24th of October 1997)

4.1 - Introduction

In 1979, *L'Express*, a French weekly magazine printed an intriguing question on its cover: "Vit-on heureux en banlieue ?" (Does one live happily in the *banlieue*?) (Léotard and Riveaud 1979). At the time, the answer was not an easy one for the journalists to answer and their analysis oscillated between praising community links, decrying the difficulty of transport links to the city centre and critiquing the decaying architecture. Today, for anyone who does not live in stigmatised suburban neighbourhoods and housing estates, the response to the question posed by *L'Express* would most likely be that life in the *banlieues* is unlikely to generate happiness. It is probably unthinkable for non-housing estate residents to associate positive representations with spaces that have become socially constituted as the '*banlieues*'. The use of the word '*banlieue*' has taken on a specific meaning, readily understood as a reference to a grouping of mostly suburban neighbourhoods around French cities. Clearly, the word is not value-neutral and to use it is to signify decrepitude and dilapidation, while bringing to mind a dismal architecture of greying tower-blocks. Today, the word connotes a specific urban form that developed in the 1950s and 1960s. Known as

cités, as a testimony to the heritage that these areas owe to Le Corbusier's ' *cité radieuse*' or 'radiant city'⁴⁰, these neighbourhoods are now primarily conceived as a series of collapsing and fear-provoking housing estates, with all the imagined problems that such descriptions conjure up throughout Western Europe and beyond (see Card 2006; Castañeda 2012; Glasze *et al.* 2012; Hanley 2007; Minton 2009; Purdy 2003; van Kempen *et al.* 2005; Venkatesh 2002). Even though housing estates are mostly located within an identifiable larger urban area, the discursive constitution of these places positions them 'on the edge', outside the city's imagined limits (Power 1999). The social production of places as different has been examined by geographers over several historical periods and in a variety of different national and regional contexts (K. Anderson 1991; Back and Keith 2004; Body-Gendrot 1993, 1996, 2000; Campkin and Cox 2007; Dowling 2009; Dyos 1967; Dyos and Reeder 1973; Fincher and Jacobs 1998; Fyfe 2004; Glasze *et al.* 2010, 2012; Harvey 1993; Keith and Pile 1993; Massey 1996; Merrifield 1996; Mooney 2009; Reeder 2006; Sernhede 2011; Shields 1992; S.J. Smith 1987, 1993; Schultz Larsen 2009; Swanton 2010; Watt 2006; Wilson and Taub 2006). As previously stated, this thesis will contribute to the further development of this literature while insisting on the power of territorial stigma to determine what is not only a different place, but a threatening and potentially contagious one.

Following negative social constructions of place, neighbourhoods and their differences can become associated with stereotypes relating to the supposedly unhygienic or dangerous dispositions of their residents (Kalff 2008; Séchet 2006; Swanton 2010). Contemporary visions of French *banlieues* are infused with securitising and racialising discourses that have further encouraged boundary-making processes (Adell and Capodano 2001; Balibar 2007; Belmessous 2010, 2013; Bigo 2008; Bonelli 2005, 2007; Butlen 2005; Dikeç 2006a, 2006b, 2007a; Duprez and Hedli 1992; Ireland 2004; Rey 1996; Roché 2006; Rosello 2004; Simon 1992). Mehdi Belhaj Kacem (2006) refers to the increasing fear and paranoia that *banlieues* generate throughout France in terms of a 'national psychosis'. Although there is some truth to this, it should be stated that the stigma is not directed towards '*banlieues*' as such. Rather, it is France's housing estates, concentrated in and around a very large number of urban

⁴⁰ See Le Corbusier (1964 [1935]).

areas, that are the true targets of this so-called psychosis. The French word '*cité*' has become so interwoven with '*banlieue*' that suburban areas are pictured as made up of housing estate blocks only. In fact, I will show that the reality is much more complex.

This chapter is aimed at uncovering the history behind the words that are in use today and of the discursive baggage that accompanies them. The first two sections will focus on the historical making of the *banlieues* and housing estates, known as '*cités*' or '*grands ensembles*' (literally, large structures). In a first instance, I will examine the purely historical evolution of these areas in somewhat general terms. I trace the roots of the word *banlieue* to one of its many ancestors: '*faubourg*'. Following from this, I discuss the ways in which urban policy, in its unique French form, has participated in reconstituting the *banlieues* negatively, as places of difference. I explain why these developments have led to the evolution of *grands ensembles* being construed as an efficient solution to housing shortages in the 1950s and 1960s before being understood as urban neighbourhoods in need of renovation, securitisation and even demolition.

4.2 - The establishment of a *banlieue* landscape

4.2.1 - From *faubourgs*...

Prior to the word *banlieue* entering common parlance, cities were described as being surrounded by '*faubourgs*'⁴¹. This word is still used in poetic language to designate the spaces that lie beyond city limits and it can still be used as a synonym of *banlieue*. In a sense, *faubourg* has preceded *banlieue* as a label intended to describe suburban growth. It first appears in the early 12th century but it was used more consistently to describe the areas that lay beyond city walls (Rouleau 1985). The word originates in the expression '*fors-borc*', where the '*fors*' quickly became the '*faux*', which in French now means 'false' or 'fake'. The word '*bourg*', that evolved from '*borc*', has the same Latin and Germanic roots as that of

⁴¹ Most of the literature on the *faubourgs* relates to those situated around Paris (e.g. Faure 2006; Kaplan 1988; Rouleau 1985). However, these existed around a number of other cities: e.g. Bordeaux (Pousseau 1980), Montpellier (Michel 1983) and, importantly, Nîmes (Andréani 2006; Cosson 1985; Dutil 1908; Marconot 1990; Teisseyre-Sallmann 1980, 1984).

'burgh' in Britain or 'Burg' in Germany. The 'false-burg' was what was explicitly located outside the town. Before their progressive administrative incorporation to the city, trade developed in the *faubourgs*, along roads leading to cities and around entrances of towns. The development of housing and commerce were promoted by the absence of city taxes known as the *octroi*. Other activities developed in the *faubourgs* because they were unwanted in central areas and rejected beyond city limits by municipal authorities. This included enterprises that polluted the water or the air. Activities that were contrary to religious morality, such as inappropriate inns and taverns as well as prostitution, were also pushed to the immediate outside. Because medieval *faubourgs* were spaces of vilification, they became places into which city waste was dumped. The plague-stricken, the leprous and those with other visible and contagious diseases were thrown into these spaces (Faure 2006). Vieillard-Baron (2001: 45) adds the important fact that racialised groups were forced to live within the *faubourgs*. For instance, Jews had no other choice but to reside in the *faubourgs*. The distancing of everything that was considered undesirable and a threat to the everyday functioning and the way of life of the town was expelled and thus, reinforced the feelings of fear and repulsion for peripheries. In an article published in the *Journal des Débats* in 1831, the journalist Saint-Marc Girardin wrote that "The barbarians that threaten our society are not in the Caucasus or in the steppes of the Tartars: they are in the *faubourgs* of our manufacturing cities" (quoted in Bernié-Boissard 2008: 34).

The *faubourgs* became associated with the explosive potential of the working classes, also referred to as the 'dangerous classes' (L. Chevalier 2002 [1958]; Geremek 2006 [1976]). In what might now appear to be prophetic text, in *Les Misérables* (1862), Victor Hugo wrote of a place where:

"the people work and suffer [...]. Beware! [...] When the time comes, this *faubourien* will grow, this little man will rise, and he will stare upon others in a terrible fashion and the blast of his breath will become a storm" (quoted in Vieillard-Baron 2001: 46).

One way of maintaining a distance between the *faubourgs* and the city was by declaring it illegal to build on a ring of 200 to 300 metres from the city walls (Leveau-Fernandez 1992). Supposedly to protect the city from an external invasion in case of war, this area was at times turned over to military control around larger cities (Vieillard-Baron 2008:27). In fact, the zone of protection also served to protect the central city from potential unrest emanating from the *faubourgs* (C. Jones 2004; Leveau-Fernandez 1992). Much later, these spaces were used to construct the red-brick, state-sponsored social housing known as *Habitation à bon marché* (HBM)⁴². Although these were legally instituted in 1894, construction really took off after the First World War and the Parisian periphery was the major focus of building, creating a "30km long belt of shame around the capital", in the words of Le Corbusier (quoted in Dumont 1991: 143). In the early twentieth century, zones intended to protect cities from the abject and 'contagious poor' (Chevalier 2002 [1958]; Kokoreff 2007) thus became the primary recipients of social housing. Even though this was most visible around Paris, it was also the case in other mid-to-large cities elsewhere in France (see Bernié-Boissard 2008). This included Nîmes where the immediate periphery of the city was made to accommodate several private and public social constructions for the working-classes (Marconot 1990).

The legislation that was intended to ensure the safety of central city-dwellers and separation from the *faubourgs* was generally inefficient and illegal constructions were commonplace. Thus, in order to impose some level of control over peripheries, another solution was found. This consisted in annexing the *faubourgs* both politically and physically in order to actively include them as part of the city itself, thus pushing the boundary of the periphery one step further out (Halbwachs 1920). Incorporation had a number of benefits: these territories were extremely important economically and it was politically very useful to regain control of these 'forbidden streets' (C. Jones 2004: 328; see also Roncayolo 1997 [1978]). Crucially, a number of peripheral municipalities located in the *faubourgs* refused their integration into the larger city in the name of 'municipal socialism'. In so doing, not only did they keep the

⁴² Low-rent housing, the HBM are the ancestors of the *Habitation à loyer modéré* (moderate rent housing) or HLM that have now become associated to French housing estates in all their shapes and forms. These are discussed further below.

idea of the difference between core and periphery alive, they also established the beginnings of suburban identities. As we shall see, these are of central importance to this thesis and it is particularly relevant for Nîmes as well as the Paris region. Indeed, a number of villages around the city refused incorporation in the early twentieth century in the name of political independence (Vieillard-Baron 2001:47). One such suburban cluster of homes stood exactly where some of Pissevin's tower blocks stand today (see Volle 1971).

4.2.2 - ... to the *banlieues*

In the preface to Albert Serouille's book about Bezons (1944), à suburban town to the North West of Paris, the illustrious novelist, Louis-Ferdinand Céline wrote movingly about:

"[The] poor Parisian *banlieue*, you are the doormat lying before the city on which everyone wipes their feet, spits and passes by, who ever thinks of her? [...] It is now a land without a soul, a cursed work-camp where sleep is useless. [...] The *banlieue* that is dying all around, who cares for it?"

He responds to his own question: "Nobody of course! It is ugly." His descriptions are of a *banlieue* that is inundated with suffering, poverty and that attracts disgust or, at best, indifference. In the nineteenth century, those *banlieues* that are most constituted as infamous today were sites for the construction of warehouses and factories. It is in these areas, within close proximity to cities, that the polluting industries and their machinery were installed. Later, in the early to mid-twentieth century, a number of spaces in the *banlieues* were partly rebuilt as dormitory-cities and new towns (Merlin 1969, 1991). *Banlieues*-spaces have always been recipients for everything that the 'real' city does not wish and rejects. Céline's quote evokes his own feelings of pity for Paris' *banlieues* and highlights the indifference that non-*banlieue* residents were thought to have for these spaces. However, Bernié-Boissard (2008: 33) reminds her readers that the primary emotion that one associated with the word '*banlieue*' was more likely to be that of fear and anxiety, as it still is today. According to her, these emotions and responses can be dated back to the early

nineteenth century (see also A. Faure 1991; Fourcaut 2000a, 2002, 2003, 2007; Rey 1996; Rhein 1988).

As far as historians have been able to judge from known archives, '*ban-lieue*' first appears in a text originating in Picardie, a northern region, and dated from 1185 (Le Goaziou and Rojzman 2006: 5). Its equivalent in Latin (*bannileuga* or *banleuca*) was found in documents as far back as 1036 in reference to the city of Arras (Vieillard-Baron 2001: 13). Importantly, in first uses of the word, the central city and the peripheral *banlieue* are complementary and their relationship is one of symbiosis: the centre provided protection and the surrounding belt, food and a number of other services to the population of the city as a whole. Fourcaut (1993: 14) notes that "during the Middle Ages, the word *banlieue* referred to the territory of approximately one *lieue* over which a lord could exercise his *droit de ban*" at the time of the French Ancien Regime that lasted from roughly the 15th century to the 18th century. A *lieue* was the measure of one league, derived from the word the Latin word *leuga*. The so-called 'common *lieue*', which was the most used in the Middle Ages and that was otherwise known as the 'French *lieue*' corresponded to 4,440 metres (Vieillard-Baron 2001: 13). The *droit de ban* was an official proclamation, an order or an interdiction (Fourcaut 1993: 14-17; Vieillard-Baron 2008). *Ban* is an old Frankish word for law. The '*droit de ban*' gave a lord absolute control over the territory that was governed under this *ban*. For instance, it enabled lords to summon 'their' vassals during times of war (Le Goaziou and Rojzman 2006: 5). Importantly, the original understanding of *banlieue* was as a zone of regulatory inclusion and administrative oversight: the very opposite of exclusion⁴³. Therefore, although some have read exclusion and marginalisation to be already present in the word *banlieue* (Banlieues 89 quoted in Dikeç 2007: 7; see also Belhaj Kacem 2006; Depaule 2006), this is an evolution that came much later. Some believe there to be a clear link between the prefix '*ban*' and the etymology of other words such as banishment (*bannissement*) or banned (*banni*) but this remains debated. What is known for certain is that '*banlieue*' was a legal term that expressed the direct expression of power over land.

⁴³ I would like to thank Loïc Wacquant for pointing this out to me (personal communication, 2-3-2011).

Notwithstanding the enormous diversity that exists within the *banlieues*, the 'banlieue landscape' is largely imagined in the singular and the origins of the word are lost in today's understandings. The associations that the word *banlieue*, or any of its co-relatives, can bring to mind have evolved considerably and they are not easy to pin down or to define precisely because the *banlieue* has never been understood as a statistical criterion or an administrative category. What is clear is that it can be defined in opposition to a central area. It is and always was defined via a subtraction: the *banlieue* is the urban agglomeration *minus* the city-centre, or city-centres (Vieillard-Baron 2001: 6). In spite of this, it must be remembered that even before the *faubourgs* became more commonly referred to as the *banlieues*, they were already a set of extremely diverse social spaces. For instance, the *faubourgs* of southern and western Paris were very wealthy areas with large 'country homes' to which the rich Parisian community would retire on Sunday and during the summer months.

Paquot (2008) insists on the plurality of existing *banlieues* and Hervé Vieillard-Baron (2008: 26) maintains that any generalisation about the 'landscape of the *banlieues*' must be treated with the highest level of caution. Wacquant (2007a; 2008a; 2008b; 2010) reminds his readers to speak of the *banlieues* in the plural form and not the singular *banlieue* that is so readily used in public discourse. Illustrating this diversity, in 1999 the French national statistics institute (INSEE), published a report in which it claimed there to be 3744 municipalities located within what could be termed a 'banlieue', with a total of 20.3 million inhabitants over a surface of 7% of national space (Vieillard-Baron 2008: 27). Thus, not only is it the case that within each *banlieue* there can be found residents of different socio-economic statuses, it must also be asserted that to speak of one homogeneous *banlieue* would be absurd. There are wealthy ones such as Neuilly-sur-Seine, to the West of Paris, that remains one of France's wealthiest municipalities (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot 2007) while *banlieues* towns like Sarcelles, to the North of the capital, have large housing estate neighbourhoods that suffer from a wide array of cumulative difficulties that include chronic unemployment, high rates of poverty and disinvestment (INSEE 2012). Gradually, the vocabulary that is associated with 'banlieues' has become entangled with towns and housing estates that are located in this latter type of urban area. Municipalities like Sarcelles are

increasingly depicted as places of residence for the post-industrial proletariat that lives and is confined to the peripheries of France's larger cities. As such they find themselves doubly placed outside the city limits.

This leads to an important and final point about the variety of different *banlieues* - and one that is particularly relevant here. It relates to the fact that in cities like Nîmes or indeed larger cities such as Marseille, housing estates that one readily associates with the suburban towns are constructed within the 'core-city' and are part of its administrative jurisdiction. As such, they are very unlike the Parisian *banlieues* where mayors and heads of larger administrative regions known as the *départements* can speak as representatives of marginalised peripheries. The areas of Pissevin and Valdegour that I take a closer look at in this thesis may well be located within the city of Nîmes but they are commonly regarded as peripheral and constituted as outside the city of Nîmes. In everyday conversations, they are referred to as 'the *banlieues*' of the city and their residents are thus denied the identity of 'being Nîmois' (Marconot 1990: 10-11). This is partly to do with the policy treatment of these neighbourhoods and to the fact that the population there is thought of as highly post-colonial. It is also a consequence of the fact that most French housing estates have a specific architectural appearance known as the *grands ensembles* that has come to be interlinked with the idea of the *banlieue* as decrepit and peripheral.

4.3 – The development of French housing estates

Having looked at the origins of the word *banlieue* and at how it has historically been associated to urban spaces that are vilified, this section retraces the development of what became known as the *grands ensembles*, literally meaning large complexes, or large estates. Today, these are more commonly referred to as '*cités*'. Very many such housing estates were built throughout France from the mid 1950s to the mid 1970s as a response to poor housing conditions and more generally to lack of housing. Urban planning decisions that encouraged the construction of large housing estates were influenced by the recent memory of chaotic developments of *lotissements* around several French cities. Translated from the French, this

loosely refers to a 'subdivision' or a (small) 'housing estate'. Their growth is described in the first sub-section. It precedes an explanation of why *grands ensembles* were thought to be a more rational, efficient and more orderly way of developing the *banlieues* than through sporadic growth and construction when this is left to private enterprise (Monnier and Klein 2002; Plouchart 1999).

4.3.1 - Tainted from the start: the chaotic development of *lotissements*

Throughout the nineteenth century, the immediate periphery of large cities provided factory owners with enormous practical benefits in an industrialising France. Such locations were populated by people who were eager to find work. They were linked to accessible modes of transportation and they enabled frequent contact with a number of services, such as banks and insurance companies (Oatley 2001). By the mid-nineteenth century, the irregular growth of the *faubourgs* was replaced by a massive influx of population. From about 1860, the growth of the population occurred in parallel to that of the available jobs and so France's cities expanded beyond their limits under pressure from the economy and demographic growth (Vieillard-Baron 2001: 50-51). In 1850, 8 million French people lived in cities, representing 25% of the total population. By 1914, that figure had expanded to 19 million and 46% of the French population (Vieillard-Baron 2001: 51). With the intensive industrialisation that occurred on the outskirts of French cities came a correlative increase in rural population looking for work and housing which was in short supply.

Newly arrived workers who moved to city centres were often regarded with scorn by bourgeois urbanites. This rejection resulted in segregation within cities and the affluent and working-classes lived very much in worlds apart (see Frey 1995). The discontent of working-classes grew rapidly when landlords increased rents, in response to high demand throughout the nineteenth century. This phenomenon occurred in several cities but Paris was particularly affected. The displacement resulting from Georges-Eugène Haussmann's large scale rebuilding projects in Paris made finding housing more difficult while pushing rent prices to record highs. Throughout France, the displacement of urban working-classes from

city centres to peripheral areas was added to the arrival of rural populations into these same spaces. This created population pressure in urbanising *faubourgs* that only decades before had often been nothing more than a series of smallish villages and farms (Vieillard-Baron 2001). A solution to overcrowding, disease and pollution needed to be found and the origin of the hygienist movements in France were spawned from such considerations in the mid nineteenth century (see Kalff 2008). A number of socially progressive industrialists constructed 'cités' for the workers in the vicinity of factories. However, these responses were far too small-scale to deal with the severe housing shortages.

As a consequence, a large number of cheaply constructed homes began seeing the light of day in what became known as *lotissements*. They were privately owned housing estates that began to appear on the rims of cities from the end of the nineteenth century. They were subdivided and built by property development companies on land that was now commonly referred to as the *banlieue*. *Lotissements* were easily recognisable, constructed cheaply and quickly, they were also built without the constraints that are imposed by rigid urban planning (see Fourcaut 2000b). This resulted in a certain messiness and chaotic appearance that became associated with new working-class *banlieues* in France. The clumps of houses and shabby apartment blocks became the markers of the 'disorderly' *banlieue* and its population, thus contributing to the forging of a stigmatised *banlieue* landscape.

After the First World War, attitudes towards the *lotissements* evolved considerably. Their 'scruffiness' did not fit well with an increased desire to enforce order on French urban development. Constructed from whichever materials were most available in a time of housing crisis caused in part by the war, *lotissements* were at their largest and most controversial in the early 1920s. Imbued with hygienist modes of thinking, the geographer Edouard Bruley (1928: 34) described these spaces as "haphazard outgrowths". The lack of building regulations led to the appearance of constructions without any semblance of order and most of the lots lacked access to running water and to other basic amenities (Vieillard-Baron 2001: 55). As a consequence, *lotissements* contributed to tainting the representations of housing in the *banlieues*. Bruley's work (1928: 79) was particularly stigmatising, saying that the:

"scourge of the *lotissements* has considerably worsened in the past few years: soon all the parks and fields in a 30km radius around Paris will have disappeared. Certain agglomerations are scandalous; notwithstanding the promises of the land salesmen, they have no stone roads, no water, no electricity. The unfortunate buyers, lost in the mud, far from any inhabited centre, are ruined and have no way out".

In 1920, the editor of *L'Animateur des temps nouveaux* wrote about defective housing as a "harbinger of communism" and stated that in these places "workers listen to the seductions of the proletarian paradise more readily" (quoted in Baudouï 1992: 167). In Nîmes and other average-sized cities located in southern France, these concerns were shared. Industrial *banlieues* in these towns attracted the rapidly increasing working-classes that left the countryside after the Second World War, as well as immigrants from Italy, Spain and North Africa (Georges 1985: 83; Tiano 2003). A solution needed to be found to prevent such a 'freefall' but it was not before the mid 1950s, with increased economic growth and the early stages of a recovery from the tragedies of war, that the French state began to become seriously involved in the construction and maintenance of social housing.

4.3.2 - The glory days of the *grands ensembles*

"Halfway through the fifties, odd urban forms began to appear. Residential buildings were getting increasingly long and increasingly high, assembled into blocks that did not fit into existing cities. These blocks differentiated themselves from the city conspicuously and systematically, to the point of isolation from it. They appeared to be cities apart. And so was their architecture, which was so disconcerting. They were named 'grands ensembles'"

Marcel Cornu (1977: 60).

4.3.2.1 - Important housing needs inherited from the war

Inspired by the ideas of Ebenezer Howard, the first responses to the over-crowded messiness of the *lotissements* were a series of garden-cities developed between 1905 and the late 1920s (Magri and Topalov 1987). It was hoped that this would set in motion a movement of lasting suburbanisation and exurbanisation (Mancebo 2007). The French take on these projects was imbued, not with economic development and the need to be more productive, but with a number of social objectives. The aim was for workers who resided in the *banlieues* to re-establish relations with nature, and architects ensured that natural elements were present in all of their designs. As such Howard's (2001 [1902]) guiding principles were respected closely, in opposition to the chaos of *lotissements* (Fourcaut 1999). French garden-cities were built as social housing areas with green space and specific importance was given to the existence of public spaces (Pouvreau *et al.* 2007). The ideology that operated behind this movement was imbued with hygienist ideas (Burlen 1995; Faure 2006; Kalff 2008). What is more, a pedagogical aim was located in the garden-city movement with a desire to educate the working-classes to the workings of peaceful community life. However, with time, the *cités-jardins* began to feel the pressure of the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), a school of architectural modernism that Le Corbusier and his many disciples piloted (see Le Corbusier 1987 [1929]). A gradual move towards the *grands ensembles*, rectilinear collective housing blocks, replaced individual housing and the importance of the relationship between residents and nature began to fade from planning discourse (Vieillard-Baron 2001: 63; Monnier 1990; Paquot 2004).

In a series of acerbic comments about individual housing, the *lotissements* and French garden-cities, Le Corbusier set the tone of his modernist ideology:

"Evidently, the small house ('my house', 'my home') accompanied by its fruit garden and its fraternal trees, occupies the heart of the masses, allowing business men [sic.] to make substantial benefits from allotting the land [...]. The small house crushes the housewife [sic.] under too many domestic burdens, it crushes the finances of the municipality under too many maintenance costs [...]. If men [sic.] are dispersed, as is the case today in the *lotissements*, it is because the city is sick, hostile and that it does not accomplish its obligations" (quoted in Vieillard-Baron 2001: 56).

For Le Corbusier, a solution to this 'disease' could be found in the *grands ensembles*. The first usage of the expression goes back to the 1930s in an article published by the geographer Maurice Rotival (1935). Already, Rotival hoped that the *grands ensembles* would finally do away with the last of the "leprous *lotissements*" and he believed they would finally "modernise the *banlieue*". In 1953, the director of the construction department in the Ministry for Post-war Reconstruction and Renovation, Adrien Spinetta (1953), wrote about the *grands ensembles* as places of residence where every aspect of daily life has been thought out for 'man' [sic]. This meant that shopping amenities, bus stations and public spaces were all planned within these constructions in order to maximise the efficiency of these 'machines for living' (Le Corbusier 2008 [1923]). Meanwhile, in September 1953, the ministry vowed to build enough *grands ensembles* to allow all of those in inappropriate accommodation to live within new constructions within five to ten years (Mengin 1999: 106). In the early 1960s, the geographer Rémi Kaës (1963) spoke of the 'radical changes' that the *grands ensembles* would bring to the organisation of everyday life; they were to represent a fundamental rupture with a 'forlorn urban landscape'. Describing the constructions themselves, another geographer, Philippe Pinchemel (1959), stated that they were to be composed of:

"several thousand homes that are aimed at privileging stability and a feeling of completeness. Thus, it is a whole new urban politics, a doctrinal body with the appearance of new specialists, an all-powerful technocracy that has been given the task of organising the mode of living for tens of thousands of households" (pp. 14-15).

Importantly, the *grands ensembles* were first and foremost a solution to an intense housing shortage. Not only were tens of thousands of families homeless but in this post-war context, the construction industry was finding it difficult to recover from a crisis and the accumulated delays inherited from the 1930s and the Second World War (Stébé 2010). With these difficulties in mind, Le Corbusian ideals were regarded with much enthusiasm and optimism. On the 1st of February 1954, the dire situation led a Catholic priest, the now renowned Abbé Pierre (1912-2007), to deliver a speech on the radio about the catastrophic situations under which so many citizens (and immigrants) were living⁴⁴. His plea to volunteers, private donors and the state provoked a wave of support for the poor, the homeless and the ill-housed (Damon 2002: 12)⁴⁵. The secretary of state for Reconstruction and Housing estimated the need in housing in 1954 to be 2,000,660 homes in order to house the homeless and deal with the severely dilapidated housing all over the country (Legoullon 2000). With this in mind, the imperative to build and to build fast was defined by Lacoste (1959: 142) who stressed the need to industrialise the production of housing.

Defining what a *grand ensemble* is can be difficult as the meaning is slightly ambiguous. However, five criteria have been identified by Dufaux and Fourcaut (2004): a rupture with urban fabric; a rupture with form (towers and blocks); size (over 500 housing units); the mode of financing (helped by the state); a concept that leads to rationalisation, functionality and that can be repeated. In 1961, minimal norms were enforced in the construction of housing, giving working-classes access to what had once been rare comfort installations:

⁴⁴ Available online (in French): <http://www.ladepeche.fr/article/2007/01/22/3178-l-appel-de-1954-de-l-abbe-pierre.html> [Accessed 29/10/2011].

⁴⁵ Immediately after the speech, a significant increase in squatter movements began and, in 1956, a law was passed as a consequence of the Abbé Pierre's actions, that forbade forced eviction, including those unable to pay their rent in full, during the winter months (Damon 2002).

independent kitchens, independent bathrooms and lavatories, central heating, warm water and a lift for any building over four-stories high (Bonelli 2008: 33). These applied to all *grands ensembles* built from 1962 onwards. The importance of state involvement when it came to funding construction and sponsoring the *Habitations à Loyer Modérés* (henceforth, HLM)⁴⁶ has been absolutely vital in the French context (Béhar 1995; Bidou-Zachariasen 1997; Castellan *et al.* 2002; Estèbe 2004a, 2004b; Fassin 2011; Juhem 2000; Landauer 2010; Le Goaziou and Rojzman 2006; Tissot 2007a; Vieillard-Baron 2001; Villechaise 1997; Wacquant 2006b). The *grands ensembles* were built within approximately twenty years from the Courant plan of 1953 to the Guichard bill of 1973 that eventually forbade any such further constructions at a time when that signalled the start of their decreasing popularity⁴⁷. It is fair to point to the existence of large-scale housing before that period (Drancy, Villeurbanne or the *cité* of the Oiseaux in Bagneux, all of which were built in response to the development of the industrialised sector) but the mass production of housing units reached 300,000 per year during the 1960s and 90% benefitted from State help (Fourcaut 2004: 15-19).

4.3.2.2 - Building *grands ensembles* in an 'immigrant', peripheral 'red belt'

From the end of the First World War to the first oil crisis of 1973, the *banlieue rouge* - the red suburb - was the term used in political geography and in sociology to describe the predominantly working-class peripheral areas that surrounded the larger cities (Bacqué and Fol 1997; Fourcaut 1992; Stovall 2003; Subra 2004). Annie Fourcaut (2000a; 2007a; 2007b) and Olivier Masclet (2003, 2005, 2006a, 2006b) point to the municipal communism that once ruled the town halls of several *banlieue* towns around France's larger cities. Importantly, *banlieues* were once the sites of much political power. For instance, the support of mayors from the Communist party (henceforth, PCF) as well as voters from the suburban working-

⁴⁶ This literally translates as 'low-rent housing unit': "The dominant image of the HLM is one of large-scale, high-rise housing development in the peripheral areas of cities [...]. The dominant image of the HLM follows from the post-war urbanization pattern of rapid and mass construction in the peripheral areas of cities where land was available and cheaper" (Dikeç 2007: 13). However, not all HLMs correspond to this representation and some are situated in the wealthier towns or neighbourhoods.

⁴⁷ If construction had begun prior to 1973, the continuation of the building process was not prohibited. However, limitations were imposed to original plans as state subsidising was reduced in a time of severe economic crisis from the mid-1970s.

classes were partly responsible for the election of Léon Blum, a socialist, as head of the French government in 1936 (Lacouture, 1979; Wolikow 1996). Nîmes has had a number of socialist and communist mayors and it has traditionally had a large far-left electorate (Marconot 1988).

Reconstruction in France was a daunting prospect and it would require that the country open its borders to a non-European workforce. A national statute was decreed on the 2nd November 1945 that enabled a policy of lasting immigration and declared this to be facilitated by a policy of family reunification for the immigrant workforce⁴⁸. A National office for immigration (ONI) was set up in the wake of this decision - it was soon renamed National Agency for the Welcome of Foreigners and Migrants (ANAEM). An impressive programme of migration into France began and newcomers were made to pass through Marseille in order to be 'inspected' by civil servants in charge of 'sanitation' (Noiriel 1992: 128). Between the mid 1950s and the first oil crisis of 1973, France's employment levels were at an all-time high and policies of immigration were in place to ensure that all positions in factories would be filled. On top of this, although the rights of immigrants (and women) were different and inferior to those of French (male) nationals, the welfare systems in place developed considerably, albeit, if unequally (Bonelli 2008: 26).

In any case, the association between *banlieues* and supposed 'zones of immigration' is not a recent one. In fact, Italians, Portuguese, Spanish and Polish people have been regular migrants to industrial peripheries since the nineteenth century (Desplanques and Tabard 1991; Charbonneau and Germain 2002). Nonetheless, from *banlieues* populated by the (often foreign) 'savage Bolshevik', a new dangerous class emerged in the wake of the wars of decolonisation. With the start of the war for Algerian independence in 1954, the figure of the potential terrorist was increasingly linked to urban peripheries. The French state established a series of foyers or hostels near factories in the *banlieues* for the foreign

⁴⁸ The statute is available online:

<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006069184&dateTexte=vig> [Accessed 12/09/2011].

workforce from potentially 'dangerous' populations⁴⁹. The foyers were intended to separate migrant populations from the African continent from the 'authentically French' workforce. Abdelmalek Sayad (1999) has shown how this move erased any 'ambiguity' about purposes of immigration: it demonstrated that integration into 'Frenchness' was not desirable for a population destined to 'return home'. The foyers were constructed in peripheral neighbourhoods with materials that clearly showed them to be temporary, a suitable fit for a "temporary workforce" (Sayad 1999: 87).

As a consequence of the lack of available housing for the newly arrived immigrant populations, a number of *bidonvilles* (literally, 'oil-drum-cities') took shape in the *banlieues*. The *bidonvilles* were quite literally slums in that they were not ethnically homogenous but everyone living there was poor. Those without accommodation took refuge in such places, living in shacks of corrugated iron, breeze-block and wood. The largest of these could be found in Nanterre (Sayad and Dupuy 2008 [1998]) and Aubervilliers, outside Paris, but a number of these 'slum areas' could be found in southern France (Damon 2004; Gastaut 2004). There is in Colette Pétonnet's (1982) ethnology of the *banlieues* a romantic appreciation of what the *bidonvilles* represented. She comments that they were a form of "general resistance against an authoritarianism that no longer tolerates singularity in forms of dwelling" (p.82). Pétonnet (1982) explains that it is for this reason that the French state demolished these spaces, under the guise of humanitarianism. The clearing out of *bidonvilles*, she says, was done quickly, because it was done with vengeful intentions in mind (see also C. Katz [2004] and N. Smith [1996] on revanchism). For Pétonnet, the *bidonvilles* may well have been stigmatised and considered to be 'unnatural outgrowths populated by foreigners', but they served a function for their residents, as a transition between two worlds (Pétonnet 1982: 56). They served to ensure the 'psychic' security of the newly arrived immigrants and they functioned much like a *vieux quartier*, an old neighbourhood founded upon characteristics that drew upon rural ways of life (*ibid.*: 65). For researchers like Pétonnet, the change from the *bidonvilles* to the HLMs was destructive of ways of life that

⁴⁹ These were constructed and administered by the SONACOTRA (National Society for the Construction of Accommodation for Workers). The SONACOTRA was funded for at least 85% by the state (Bernardot 2008a, 2008b).

had allowed for temporary adaptation and a transition to 'a chosen second, more definitive home' (p.91). This speaks to the current demolitions and clearing up of housing estates thought to be failed utopias (Epstein 2013).

The reality of life in the *bidonvilles* may have been as Pétonnet describes, but many of the immigrant working-classes had been on waiting lists for social housing and in a period of economic expansion, were hoping to benefit from growth and the collective context of an improvement of living conditions. On the other hand, those immigrant populations who *did* live in state-sponsored social housing were lodged in foyers destined for single men. These were unable to cater for the families that settled in France by virtue of family reunification policies (Weil 2005) and acted essentially as dormitories for workers, within the proximity of factories. Abdelmalek Sayad (1999: 91) has shown that until the end of the 1970s, immigrants were kept away from access to subsidised and social housing. It is only as a result of an alteration in the collective conception of the *grands ensembles* as producers of anonymity and anomie that access to the HLMs opened up 'by magic' (Masclét 2003: 63; Lyons 2006; Plouchart 1999) to immigrant workers and their families⁵⁰.

The aspiration of certain French families for social mobility via the *grands ensembles* coincided with the development of a market for individual housing and the promotion, through housing policy initiatives, of this type of housing. Pierre Bourdieu (2000) explains changes in conceptions of collective housing, via the new leanings of the French state, for two reasons. First, a belief in 'advanced liberalism' that guarantees social and political order with increased access to private property. Second, by the reduction of welfare spending, in line with macro-economic theories that stress the disengagement of the state (see Bonelli 2008: 40). As such, those populations with enough economic capital to do so began to leave the *grands ensembles*. Their departure can be read as both a desire to pursue an upwardly mobile trajectory. It can also be understood as a desire for these families to distinguish themselves from other groups in the *grands ensembles*, with which they hoped to draw a boundary (Bonelli 2008: 40-41; Bourdieu 2000: 52).

⁵⁰ Masclét (2003) describes a situation where one Algerian worker was on waiting lists for eight years before he was allowed to leave the *bidonville*.

The vacancies that these departures left open encouraged social renting agencies (whether public or private) to open up low rent housing to groups that had previously been denied access. The fact that the *grands ensembles* were opened up to 'immigrants' at a time of economic crisis has profoundly altered the social composition of these neighbourhoods. Between the 1980s and 1990s, a very important number of the jobs that most residents of these zones occupied were affected by the changes taking place in the industrial sector. Bonelli (2008: 42) notes that the part of unskilled workers in France diminished by 44% between 1975 and 1999. The transformations that have been induced by the post-Fordist economic model have led to the symbolic and material dismantling of the traditional working-class. What is more, these changes hit immigrant populations, residing in the poorest neighbourhoods, the hardest (*ibid.*). It had once been possible for the PCF to speak with pride about its links with immigrants in the *banlieues*. Although Georges Marchais (1965) states that the relations were at times difficult, a number of significant improvements were made thanks to mutual collaboration between group leaders, at least insofar as the PCF liked to present it. These links have since been partly destroyed and the political left has somewhat abandoned French housing estates and their populations (Beaud and Masclet 2004; Bilal 2012; Masclet 2003).

On the scale of things, the time of *banlieues rouges* was fairly short lived. The period that Jean Fourastié (2011 [1979]), an economist, had called the 'Trente Glorieuses', the post-war 'thirty year' period of economic and welfare expansion, came to an end in the mid 1970s (see Castel 1995). The *grands ensembles* in the poorest *banlieues* were the first victims of rising unemployment levels. With populations that were mostly working-class, underprivileged suburban areas registered increasing levels of joblessness. This was the beginning of the end for the *banlieues rouges*: rising unemployment came hand in hand with further social and spatial marginalisation (see Peillon 2001). To continue to refer to these areas as the 'red belt', as Wacquant (2008a) does, may be helpful in framing his theoretical differentiation between *banlieues* and ghettos but it misrecognises the increased racialisation of these neighbourhoods. French *banlieues* were once structured around class but increasingly, they are stigmatised as '*banlieues* of immigration'.

4.3.3 - Othering the *grands ensembles*

As was the case elsewhere in Europe, the high-rises and tower-blocks of the *grands ensembles* and housing estates were decried as unattractive architectural designs from the late 1960s onwards. Jane M. Jacobs (2006) describes the collapse of the hopeful visions of mass housing and the sociologies and geographies who have provided the toughest critiques, eating away at the very foundations of the high-rise as an idea (see also J.M Jacobs *et al*). Alice Coleman (1985) provides one such example when she puts the 'failed utopias' of planned housing on trial. The construction materials used in their making was also deemed inappropriate (e.g. Helleman and Wassenberg 2004). The stigmatisation of peripheral urbanised zones has a long history that can best be summed up by this quote:

“From the Industrial Revolution onwards, the *banlieue* becomes a new type of landscape, the result of a rapid disappearance of pre-existing rural areas which are submerged by urbanisation and industrialisation. Today, this legal and geographic term has taken on enormous symbolic value as it has gradually become synonymous with tension and uncertainty, particularly in the Parisian *banlieue*.” (Fourcaut 1993: 17).

This section addresses the most recent evolution of the '*banlieue*-landscape' into one that may be seen as 'sensitive neighbourhoods' and, in extreme cases, as fully fledged 'immigrant ghettos'. The *banlieues* have for a long time been associated with a negative imagery that quite regularly works in tandem with an ideology of securitisation. The urban policy designation of *Zone Urbaine Sensible* (ZUS) ⁵¹ comes with connotations of places that have the potential to erupt. Although the urban policy approach is regularly presented as a new phenomenon (Amorim 2002; Sedel 2009a), this type of representation has long roots. The residents of the communist '*banlieue rouge*' were frequently referred to in terms that portrayed them as “wild savages, Bolsheviks with knives between their teeth and ready to invade Paris while they wait in their muddy grey homes” (quoted in Fourcaut 2000: 102 ⁵²;

⁵¹ Vieillard-Baron (1998) is ironic about the fact that such labelling suggests the existence of 'insensitive urban zones'.

⁵² Annie Fourcaut does not name the journal or the author.

see also Subra 2004). Today *banlieues* are imagined alongside images of rioting and criminality, Islam and 'threatening' levels of immigration. After the November 2005 riots, the media began to speak of an 'intifada of the *banlieues*' (Kokoreff 2008: 97) thereby conflating issues of immigration, Islam and violence in one expression (Bernié-Boissard 2008: 163). As I have already stated, this needs to be taken into account in studies of territorial stigmatisation that have often focussed on class differences while ignoring the importance of race in generating urban marginality (see Tissot 2007b; see also Kipfer 2012).

The *banlieues* are increasingly defined according to distant places, cultures and values (Bonelli 2005; Boubeker 2009; Boucher 2010; Mbembe 2006, 2009; Sedel 2009a). During the presidential campaign of 2007, Nicolas Sarkozy spoke using a collective 'us' opposing this to an opposite 'them' in housing estates. In this speech, he described what the values of France are *not*:

"we are not polygamous, we do not practice excision on our daughters, we do not slit the throats of sheep in our apartments [a reference to the festival of Greater Eid, the Islamic festival of sacrifice] and we respect the laws of the Republic"⁵³.

These words were reproduced on national television, at a prime time slot. Through the exclusionary use of the form 'we', Sarkozy participates in the further stigmatisation of the Muslim population as one that is 'outside' the norm and as a "menacing exteriority" (Dikeç 2006b: 162). Sarkozy has been referred to as a "pyromaniac fireman" by the sociologist Nasser Demiati (2006) for his persistent use of provocative and populist strategies in the housing estate neighbourhoods. Inciting rage before advocating increased security measures to contain these spaces became a campaign tactic for the future President of the Republic. In this way, he has followed a reactionary tradition, the roots of which go back to the nineteenth century (see Badiou 2010). Although it does not do this explicitly, the above quote insists on the exteriority of French housing estates. The reference to polygamy is

⁵³ 14-01-07: Congress of the *Union pour un mouvement populaire* (UMP), the party of which Nicolas Sarkozy is a member: <http://sites.univ-provence.fr/veronis/Discours2007/transcript.php?n=Sarkozy&p=2007-01-14> [Last accessed 15/07/2010].

intended to remind listeners of Hélène Carrère d'Encausse's explanation for the 2005 riots (see Sciolino 2005). On Russian television, the historian had blamed the polygamous lives of 'Africans' in the *banlieues* for the overcrowded apartments that push children out into the streets, away from school and towards unrest (*Libération* 2005). Worryingly, polygamy was soon highlighted by Gérard Larcher, France's Minister of Labour, in an interview with *Financial Times* (2005) as both a reason for racial discrimination in the job market and for 'anti-social' behaviour⁵⁴.

Beaud and Pialoux (2005) show that contemporary surges of urban violence are not wholly unlike the working-class struggles of the past, since they too had social (and political) roots (see Tilly 1986: 380-404; Collovald 2001; Crettiez and Sommier 2002). An entire generation has been marked by life in *cités* while attempting to avoid the humiliation and despair of parents and grand-parents, sentiments of *désespérance sociale*, signifying a social sense of futility and loss of hope (Beaud and Pialoux 2005). These feelings and the attempts that are made to channel them no longer affect only the most dominated fringes of society. Instead, they have been spreading to new groups within the *cités*, such as young people with university diplomas unable to secure anything but temporary work-contracts. Continual address discrimination founded upon the fears that *cités* and their residents have come to signify is now added to cultural racism (Kipfer 2012; Wacquant 2008a). The reminder to French citizens of immigrant origin that they are 'second' or 'third generation' immigrants is a constant feature of daily life for a number of housing estate youths. They are reduced to a subcultural clothing style (that not all adopt), the accent of their parents or grand-parents or an 'original culture' that is perceived as communitarian and, as such, ill-fitting to French republican ideals⁵⁵. The issue of masculinity in the *banlieues* is part of the mythical construct of these places as different. The violent, unruly men are opposed to the veiled women (Garcia 2011). The question of the oppression of women in these spaces is openly debated along with hyper-masculinity and violence (Hamel 2003). In effect, this process resembles

⁵⁴ On the 15th of November 2005, Larcher was invited on Europe 1, a radio station, where he confirmed that polygamy was "one of the causes" of the riots. Other causes, he stated, were the "disintegration of African families facing values of equality" and a form of "cultural poverty" (*Le Nouvel Observateur* 2008).

⁵⁵ This is an issue that was already considered problematic in the late 1980s (Taïeb 1989). For a more 'up-to-date' review of cultural racism in France, see Beriss (2004), Lamont (2004) and Maillot (2008). For a reading of *communautarisme* and Islam as an 'assault' on republican ideals, see Sfeir and Andrau (2005).

Claire Alexander's (2000) description of the 'Asian gang' and of young Asian men in Britain. She talks of the hypervisibility of folk devils that actually masks a more profound invisibility. In effect, although they are everywhere to be seen, young *banlieue* men (and women) are actually nowhere to be seen. This enables an easier discursive constitution as these groups as fundamentally different. As such, a large number of *cité*-residents are unified by their status as supposed 'immigrants' inherently unable to be absorbed as full Europeans except through "some ambiguous 'integration' that no one [can] define" (O'Callaghan, 1995: 36).

4.3.4 – The *politique de la ville* and 'priority geographies'

Annie Fourcaut (2004: 197) reminds us that since the nineteenth century, the *banlieues* have been useful laboratories for the implementation of 'remedies' and 'treatments' to hitherto unseen (and mostly unmeasured) social problems. Free clinics, outdoor schools and holiday camps were set up by Catholic charities inspired by hygienist ideals. New forms of social housing, such as the garden-cities and the *grands ensembles* were experimented in urban peripheries as well as novel forms of urban planning. It was easier to conduct these trials on the municipal level before attempting to generalise them throughout the nation. French urban policy has contributed to furthering the stigmatisation of peripheral *banlieues* if only because they have been constituted as places in need of outside help (see Dikeç 2006a, 2007a, 2007b; see also de Lafargues 2006). Recently, the conflation between the *cités*, often referred to as ZUPs (Priority Urbanisation Zones), and the word ghetto was facilitated through statistical profiling, neighbourhood mapping and naming that urban policy produced in order to 'treat' the '*banlieue* problem' more efficiently (Dikeç 2007a; Tissot 2004). The fear that French housing estate neighbourhoods have been slipping towards segregated ghettos has precipitated further involvement in these areas through securitisation. As I have stated in the introduction to this thesis, it can be said that the so-called *banlieues* are under permanent state of exception in which residents are reduced to 'bare life' and deprived of fundamental rights (see Agamben 1998). The perpetual paramilitary policing and the existence of special laws that apply to sensitive urban zones only are demonstrations of this (see Rigouste 2008). Further, the annihilation of some parts of the population in these areas

is advocated in police reports and conferences. Indeed, at the *Alliance Police Nationale* (17th of November 2005), Frédéric Lagache, the national secretary of the union, advocated the 'eradication of those who ruin the lives of *cité* residents'. Michel Thoomis, another famous police officer and the general secretary of the union reactivated the semantics of war between the *banlieues* and the rest of France when, interviewed by *The Guardian* (30 October 2005), he stated that "there is a civil war under way" (quoted in Moran 2011: 100). Fortunately, the *banlieues* were not always regarded in this way and the treatment of these places via securitisation is relatively recent.

In 1978, the statistician Michèle Debonneuil published an analysis of poverty in the city of Reims based upon statistical observations with a special focus on concentrations of high unemployment levels and poverty, from one neighbourhood to the next. She was unwittingly paving the way for a standardised policy approach to the *grands ensembles* (Debonneuil 1978). In response to the revolts that occasionally took place in French housing estates and specifically after the 'urban rodeos' of 1981 in Les Minguettes⁵⁶, a novel form of urban policy began to take shape: the *politique de la ville* that translates into 'policy for the city'. In its first days, urban policy was shaped by a humanistic desire to counteract the possible difficulties that seemed to be accompanying social life in the *cités*. Reports in the early 1980s stress the need to motivate the social development of the neighbourhoods (Bonnemaïson 1982) and insist on the necessary inclusion of all residents in decision-making via collective management (Dubedout 1984; see also Fourcaut 2000: 104). Acting upon the deprived neighbourhood in order to treat the causes of the deprivation of the inhabitants and the degradation of the urban fabric is privileged in these reports. Without explicitly stating this, reports and urban policy recommendations were keen to address the major reasons for territorial stigmatisation. They targeted unemployment, poverty and education and promoted the increased power for local self-government and resident associations, ideas that had been promoted by Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1972, 2001). For a period of ten years, urban policy procedures attempted to counter social concerns in *grands ensembles*

⁵⁶ The word 'rodeo' was coined by the media. It was intended to describe the summer of 'joyriding' that youths were accused of in the *Cité des Minguettes*, a housing estate outside the city of Lyon. In some instances, cars were set on fire after they had been driven, which lead some sociologists of deviance to identify the summer of 1981 as the first occasion of urban violence directed at the property of neighbours or 'community residents' (Roché 2006: 137).

via the rehabilitation of decrepit buildings, the installation of more green spaces within the areas concerned and the regular maintenance of the infrastructure (elevators, children's playgrounds, street lighting, roads...) (Chignier-Riboulon 2009: 35).

From the late 1980s and early 1990s onwards, the *politique de la ville* quickly became informed by statistical profiling and mapping techniques (Dikeç 2007a; Donzelot *et al.* 2003; Tissot 2007a). Bonelli (2008) explains how the *banlieues* that have been targeted by France's *politique de la ville* and labelled as 'sensitive' areas, have gradually shifted in terms of their representation as 'neighbourhoods in need' to 'sensitive neighbourhoods'. Dikeç (2007a, ch.5) also illustrates this progressive evolution of policy in *Badlands of the Republic* when he talks of a shift in policy that conceived of 'neighbourhoods in danger' towards one that regards them as 'dangerous neighbourhoods'. He states:

"The transformations of the late 1980s and early 1990s shifted the orientation of urban policy from a militant to a technocratic one, with a rationally and more precisely defined geography of priority neighbourhoods" (Dikeç 2007b: 284).

Dikeç (2007a: 5) describes French urban policy as "a particular regime of representation that consolidates a certain spatial order through descriptive names, spatial designations, categorizations, definitions, mappings and statistics". Urban policy is further defined as a "place-making practice that spatially defines areas to be treated, associates problems with them, generates a certain discourse, and proposes solutions accordingly" (*ibid.*). Even though it is presented as positive territorial discrimination (Doytcheva 2007), the *politique de la ville* could well be rebranded the *politique des cités*, a form of urban policy that is designed exclusively to 'treat' the urban ills of our time, located in the *grands ensembles*.

Dikeç (2007a: 4) states that although urban policy was "conceived to address the problems of social housing neighbourhoods [...it has] contributed largely to the consolidation of negative images associated with them". For instance, voted in November 1996, the law that creates the ZUS, formalises the notion of 'neighbourhood in difficulty' (*quartier en*

difficulté)⁵⁷. The state soon established a 'national atlas' of all French ZUS⁵⁸ and in 2006, it was confirmed that there were 751 sensitive urban zones (Ministère des Finances 2006). That same year, 4.4 million people lived in a ZUS, representing 7% of the total French population. This high number of both ZUS and their population led to the creation of a state managed official body, the National Observatory of Sensitive Urban Zones (ONZUS⁵⁹), established in order to monitor progress in 'improving zones'.

The discursive constitution of *cités* as places of 'exclusion' that are heading towards a African-America style of ghettoisation has now become part of the daily representation of *cités* (Amara 2006; Boucher 2010; Collovald 2001; Lapeyronnie 2008; Simon 1992; Maurin 2004; Marchal and Stébé 2010; Masclet 2005; Rey 1996; Touraine 1991). Televised news reports almost inevitably portray dilapidated, graffiti-ridden social housing blocks, or groups of 'threatening' inactive young males (of postcolonial descent) standing at the bottom of housing estate buildings (Deltombe and Rigouste 2006). In order to respond to moral panics revolving around uncontrolled youth and rioting, politicians have increasingly tried to be seen 'doing something' (see Cohen 2002 [1972]). In some cases they have harnessed the *politique de la ville* and asked for a toughening of measures and increased 'clean-up operations' - readable as implying 'demolition' - and displacement in order to encourage some idealised and ill-defined '*mixité sociale*' (Baudin and Genestier 2006; Demiaty 2006; Epstein 2013; Estèbe 2004a). Talk of ghettoisation has also found its way into the field of social sciences. Didier Lapeyronnie once spoke of 'neighbourhoods of exile' (Dubet and Lapeyronnie 1992) before making a very different analysis recently in stating that France is now facing a number of fully fledged 'urban ghettos' (Lapeyronnie 2008). The image of the French '*cité-ghetto*' quickly spread from textual representations in the media to the fields of politics and academia. In 1990, the sociologist Alain Touraine wrote in *Le Figaro* that:

⁵⁷ The law 96-987 was named the Pact for the Revival of the City (*Pacte de relance pour la ville*) and was voted under Alain Juppé's government on the 14th of November 1996.

⁵⁸ Established in 1996, this is available online: <http://sig.ville.gouv.fr/Atlas/ZUS/> [last accessed 17-07-2012]

⁵⁹ It is important to stress that in recent years, the ONZUS has been active in attempting to present a more positive picture of France's sensitive urban zones (see ONZUS 2009, 2010, 2011).

“[w]e are rapidly sliding toward the American model [...]. We are heading towards segregation in its harshest form, the ghetto. [...] In view of the general logic of the growth of segregation, we can expect to see our big cities take the path of Chicago” (quoted in Wacquant 2008a: 144; see also Touraine 1991).

Today, ‘ghetto’ has become an emotive term (Peach 1996: 216) and it is important to ensure that it is repositioned historically and understood conceptually. Wacquant (2006b: 31) insists that ghettos and (so-called) *banlieues* are very different socio-spatial concepts, each with a different history, structure, and function within the metropolitan whole. A ghetto “is an ethnically homogeneous enclave that contains all the members of a subordinate category and their institutions, and prevents them from fanning into the city” (Wacquant 2008b: 114). *Banlieues* are not ghettos: they have not been established through the constraints of the state into topographically separate ethnic or racial homogeneous zones⁶⁰ (Wacquant 1992), residents are more mobile than those in African-American ghettos and they are characterised by a much stronger level of state penetration (Wacquant 2008: 11). He notes that “[t]heir ethnic heterogeneity, porous boundaries, decreasing institutional density and incapacity to create a shared cultural identity make these areas the exact opposite of ghettos” (Wacquant 2008b: 115). I fully agree with Wacquant that *banlieues*, or more appropriately *cités*, cannot be compared to ghettos but it remains to be said that similar processes have given rise to these social forms, including neoliberal policies, post-industrialism and a partial (in the case of *banlieues*) retrenchment of the state.

The language used by urban policymakers and officials is particularly telling and representative of a will to shape *grands ensembles* as a societal problem of considerable magnitude. The idea of a 'Marshall Plan for the *banlieues*' has followed an 'anti-ghetto law' all of which contribute to a 'blame-the-victim' disposition (Chignier-Riboulon 2009; Robine 2004; Tissot and Poupeau 2005). The legislation came into law on the 1st of August 2003⁶¹. Three promises were made: the establishment of 200,000 new social housing units; the

⁶⁰ According to Wacquant (2006b: 63), in any one estate, there can be as many as two dozen different ethno-national backgrounds.

⁶¹ Law 2003-710.

rehabilitation of an equivalent number of units; the destruction of 200,000 units considered too dilapidated to be rejuvenated. To fund this imposing project the National Agency for Urban Regeneration (henceforth, ANRU⁶²) was set up in 2004 and several municipalities, including that of Nîmes, applied for financing. In 2006, the 'town contracts' (*contrats de ville*) came to an official end. They had allowed for the French state and local governments to enact specific urban projects relating to education, the environment, security, culture, transport and housing (Green and Booth 1996). The programme was replaced by a new 'urban contract': the *Contrat Urbain de Cohésion Sociale* (henceforth, CUCS). The aim of these contracts - signed between the state, the region and the city - has been to rethink the role of the 'priority neighbourhoods' within the city and to accelerate the transfer of funds as well as increasing the range of possible funding sources to poverty neighbourhoods (Blanc 2007). Whether they are now referred to as ZUPs, *grands ensembles* or *cités*, the discursive constitution of these spaces as ghettos developed alongside aspirations to have them torn down. The demolishing of French housing estates is hailed in public discourse as a success and as the only way to overturn the gradual decline towards the Americanisation of cities (Lelévrier 2010).

4.4 - Conclusion

This chapter has traced the origins of the word *banlieue* and it has showed that over time the term has come to mean something that is not merely peripheral in a physical and geographical sense. The idea of an outside periphery encircling the city has been reproduced in imagery that has for a long time associated those within this 'outside' to danger and to the threat of contamination of what is otherwise conceived as a 'pure' centre. As French cities have struggled to deal with this territorialised 'other', they have at times incorporated threatening neighbourhoods in order to enforce control and surveillance. These expansions led to a *banlieue* that was perpetually being pushed further back, as cities grew further and further outwards. These administrative incorporations did not lead to the disappearance of the stigmatised groups that lived in the cities' fringes. Even though these zones and their

⁶² Agence nationale pour la rénovation urbaine.

residents became part of a larger city, the marginalisation from which they suffered was not altered. Although originating in an etymology that was partly to do with *inclusion*, the word *banlieue* has now come to be understood as a "vague concept that can be applied to any closed-in urban area and to any grouping of population that drifts from the norm" (Vieillard-Baron 2008: 33). With the Industrial Revolution and massive population growth, the marginalised urban poor found a solid collective identity in political groups such as the PCF, forming the '*banlieue rouge*', the Red belt. Through such organisations, counter-stigmatisation was possible and the periphery took pride in conceiving itself as vital to central cities. Political resistance to economic exploitation in the years between the two world wars was intense but it collapsed in the post-Fordist, post-Keynesian period.

I have shown that the responses to material inequality between centres and peripheries have evolved over time and that, from a social response that emphasised collective decision-making, the recent evolution of urban policy has been increasingly repressive. The early attempts at mapping social problems through statistics and comparisons between different areas of the city have further generated stigmatisation representations that are now used in order to enact the current mandate of the *politique de la ville*. Priority geographies of urban policy increasingly favour renovation through demolition and the resettlement of populations in different neighbourhoods in order to favour social mix.

The evolving mental conceptions of suburban space has highlighted *banlieues* as *grands ensembles* or housing estates. The word is now understood as including any neighbourhood that has the appearance of housing estate blocks whether these are literally outside the city, or within it. Valdegour and Pissevin, two of Nîmes' four urbanisation priority zones are examples of internal *banlieues*, not outside the city per se, but constituted outside its imaginary boundaries. This representation finds legitimacy in a long history of stigmatisation that has affixed itself to the *banlieues* and housing estates throughout France. It is this discursive constitution that has led to Pissevin and Valdegour, among others, being reproduced as dangerous lost territories in need of re-conquest. In effect, the constant use of the word *banlieue* in everyday discourses reproduces these places as a national problem when in fact, I would argue that it would be more helpful to focus on the local level (see

Amin 2002; Amin and Thrift 2002). In the following chapter I explain the methodological issues involved in researching such areas and I explain my choice of methods in conducting this research.

Chapter 5 - Pissevin and Valdegour, blotches on the 'Roman city'

5.1 - Introduction

Nîmes lies between the Mediterranean sea and the mountains of the Cévennes in the southern part of France (see figure 1). Positioned as it is on the arc between Catalonia and Northern Italy, it has always been situated on a series of busy transport axes. Nîmes is on the path between Paris and the cities of Montpellier, Perpignan and Narbonne. It is also in the middle of commercial links with the cities of Avignon, Arles, Aix-en-Provence and Marseille as well as Spain. Today, it is the capital of the administrative *département* of the Gard.



Figure 1: Locating Nîmes (Source: Google Maps)

From the sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century, Nîmes was renowned for its textile manufacturing, an industry that attracted populations from all of southern France as well as Spain, Portugal and Italy. The city exported substantial quantities of cotton and silk that were transported via an impressive network of roads, and from 1830, rail-roads built to accommodate the needs of an economically growing city (Cosson 1985; Dutil 1908). An array of businesses were set up inside the city, most of which were in one way or other linked to the silk and textile industry (Georges 1985). However, with competition from low prices generated through imperial exploitation, the regional economic hegemony of Nîmes came to an end, along with the demise of its textile industry.

Nîmes has a rich history that can be traced to the Roman Empire, when the city was known as Nemausus. Today, Nîmes is renowned for its Roman vestiges: the arena, the Tour Magne and the temple known as the Maison Carrée attract many thousands of tourists each year. The 'historic' nature of the city and its proximity to the Pont du Gard, a Roman aqueduct, enables many of Nîmes' residents to make a living from tourism. These symbols of history and ancient beauty are a source of pride for the city's residents. Recently, the city has been attempting to market itself as a 'Roman city': '*Nîmes, ville Romaine*' is the city's current 'brand'. It is felt by many that such efforts are blighted by the existence of highly visible, stigmatised *grands ensembles* and their racialised populations. During an interview with a town hall employee who works within the urban policy section that is in charge of Nîmes' ZUS the neighbourhoods were described as 'blotches on the map of the city', saying that these places "harm what is essentially a splendid city".

Once again, it is important to repeat what has been said in the preceding chapters: Pissevin and Valdegour are not *banlieues* as such. Although they were designed to be one *grand ensemble*, they have always been regarded as two housing estates, with different territorial identities. They were constructed at a time of housing crisis, during a period when it was governmental policy to requisition 'urban priority zones' (ZUP, see chapter 4) on which to build rapidly and cheaply. Crucially, *they have always been neighbourhoods located within the administrative boundaries of the city of Nîmes*. To differing degrees, Pissevin and

Valdegour have recently become the targets for the implementation of a number urban policy initiatives.

The first part of this chapter gives a quick overview of the city of Nîmes and its history. I briefly elaborate on Nîmes' political economy and on its position within the wider administrative department of the Gard and of the Languedoc Roussillon region (see figures 2, 3, 4 and 5 below). The chapter then introduces the imagined clash between the presence of *grands ensembles* and the core of a city that constructs itself as deeply historic and touristic. Thirdly, I examine the steps that led to the construction of Pissevin and Valdegour and introduce some of the reactions of people in Nîmes at the time. The final part describes Pissevin and Valdegour today and details some of the social issues that these estates face, as compared to the rest of the city of Nîmes and to other housing estates in the region. I also discuss why the proximity between the two estates is said to play in the disfavour of Valdegour against Pissevin. As the most vilified of the two neighbourhoods, it is in Valdegour that relatively recent renovations and demolitions have been taking place and I briefly describe the consequences.

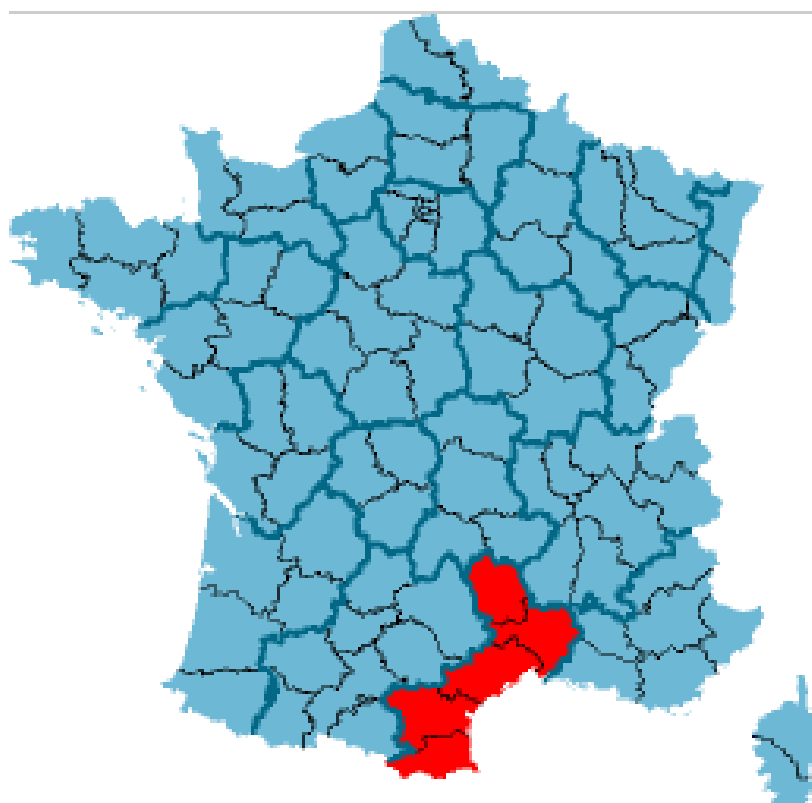


Figure 2: The Languedoc-Roussillon administrative *région*.



Figure 3: The Gard *département*.



Figure 4: Locating the Gard within the Languedoc-Roussillon.

4.2 – Conflicts between a 'Roman city' and housing estates

Nîmes has the 24th largest population in France with an estimated total that lies just short of 145,000 according to census data published by the National Institute of Statistics on the 1st of January 2006⁶³. The population has long been in decline but in recent years it has begun to rise again slowly, particularly in the wealthier northern parts of the city (Nîmes Métropole 2010: 9). This recent influx is partly composed of retirees and of people who work in nearby Montpellier and find that city too expensive to live in. The city of Nîmes is part of an urban unit that was recently organised under the banner of 'Nîmes Métropole'. It is comprised of the municipality of Nîmes and of twenty-six smaller towns and villages and totals 170 000 residents⁶⁴. Nîmes Métropole is of particular interest to urban policy since it gives Nîmes the possibility of displacing problem populations to other municipalities after the demolition of housing blocks. The administrative decision-making body that encompasses these twenty-seven municipalities has become known as the *agglomération*. It gives the conurbation more power to attract funds, to homogenise public transport in the area and to ensure that economic development is spread more equally according to population size. It also ensures that urban policy decisions that would have been directly managed at state level or at the level of the Languedoc-Roussillon region, are now negotiated more forcefully at the local level. The housing estates are conceived by the *agglomération* as problematic in what is otherwise imagined as a typically 'Provence' landscape.

Politically, Nîmes' government has been through a number of significant changes, but it has had a tendency to gravitate towards the left. As I have already said, the city once thrived from the textile industry, giving its name to the material that is now known as 'denim', *de Nîmes*. It thus attracted a large working-class population to work in industry and they remained there after factory closures, opting to work in vineyards among other places (Marconot 1994). After the Second World War, the town hall was regularly occupied by representatives of the French Communist Party (henceforth, PCF) or the Socialist party, the SFIO (Léon Vergnolles, PCF, 1945-1947; Edgar Tailhades, SFIO, 1947-1965; Emile Jourdan,

⁶³ http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=0&ref_id=NATTEF01214

⁶⁴ <http://sig.ville.gouv.fr/zone/CS9103>

PCF, 1965-1983). However, the election of Jean Bousquet, an entrepreneur and a member of the mainstream right-wing party, as mayor (1983-1995) led to a break in policy and a change of priorities, in particular with respect to urban policy. His implementation of neoliberal policies implied a profound displeasure for government assistance, partly aimed at housing estates in the city. Meanwhile, his desire to balance the municipal budget on the basis of 'efficient financial indicators' left the city with a sea of debt twice as large as upon his arrival (Maury 1997). After Bousquet, Nîmes saw a return to the far-left with Alain Clary (1995-2001), a member of the PCF who favoured social programmes in the *cités* and promoted local democracy therein. During his time in office, local associations in the housing estates received increased financial help through subsidies granted by the city and raised through increased local taxes (see Bilger-Street and Milner 2001). Since 2001, Jean-Paul Fournier, a member of the centre-right UMP, has been mayor and reduced much of the help that the city had been granting to local development projects.

As is clear from this review of successive mayors, it is easy to imagine how different periods would have led to different approaches to the neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour. With each successive town hall occupant came different discursive constitutions of these places within the city. Although Nîmes was a pioneer in the establishment of social housing in France (with government aid) (Bernié-Boissard 1993: 132), it is now attempting to redefine its image according to the historic nature of the city and the demands of tourism. The city is very proud of its *férias* which are an important source of revenue. These take place twice a year and revolve around bull-fighting, known in Nîmes via its Spanish name of *corrida*. During these periods of festival, it is not uncommon for the population to rise to one million individuals during the day (Bernié-Boissard 1993, 2011). As the geographer Jean-Baptiste Maudet (2006) points out, these "festivals-festivity-férias" are anchored in identities that are essentially based around the South-West of Europe. Bullfighting cultures are self-referencing and mythically construct identities that can be exclusive. The *férias* involve hefty investment from the city authorities in terms of planning and increased around-the-clock policing of the central city area (Bernié-Boissard 2009; Domergue 1997). Such expenditures are made in the name of branding the city and furthering the international vision of Nîmes as a 'fun city' (Nîmes Métropole 2010). It is clear that resources are concentrated on selling

Nîmes' central city area and on producing a spectacle instead of dealing with the social inequalities contained within the city.

During Nîmes' *férias*, the celebratory atmosphere involves the consumption large quantities of alcohol (sangria, pastis and wine) which is also the main reason for increased policing in the city centre (*Midi Libre* 2013). In a city where up to 20% of the population is thought to be either Muslim or have Muslim ancestry, this tends to exclude a significant part of the population (Andréani 2006; Liger 1987). According to Marconot (1988, 1994), a sociologist and resident of Pissevin, the population from housing estates rarely partakes in *férias* that are perceived as 'suffocating' and 'unpleasant' events by *cité* residents. He adds that this reinforces the mental conception of tourism as a factor of marginalisation for the neighbourhoods: *cités* become constituted *in opposition to the growth of the tourism industry* by those who do not live in these spaces. Housing estate residents also re-negotiate what it means for them to belong to the city during such 'celebrations', in which they would be identified as out-of-place. These periods reinforce attachments to Pissevin and Valdegour as 'cities-away-from-the-city' (Marconot 1988).

Ultimately, the *férias* and Nîmes' attempts at developing the tourist industry has led to a conceptualisation of the city that effaces the existence of the housing estates. However, the fact that these structures are visible and that they lie at the gates of the city, representing the first 'glimpse' that one has entered into Nîmes, is deeply problematic. For a population and a town hall that wishes to construct the city as anchored in a glorious Roman past, the presence of modernist structures populated by a non-integrated population is something that needs to be dealt with. As I explain in the third part of this chapter, this is partly achieved through a recourse at urban policy renovations that sometimes explicitly promote the demolishing of *grand ensemble* constructions. As such, Nîmes increasingly exhibits a form of revanchism that promotes the purification of elements of the landscape that may affect the tourism industry. In order to enact this, it actively attempts to redistribute and erase racial and class differences that do not fit into the landscape (see K. Swanson [2007] for an elaboration of revanchism and touristic landscapes).

4.3 – Architectural modernism in the southern '*garrigue*'

Xavier Arsène-Henry (1919-2009) was one of Le Corbusier's disciples from a very early age (Arsène-Henry 1999: 26). From 1949, he regularly participated in the *congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne*, otherwise known as the CIAM, in which he found many of his influences. In *Ma ville* (1969), Arsène-Henry detailed his own philosophy for the city. In this book, he laid down his vision of the 'immanent city' (pp.62-71) according to which urbanists, architects, planners, administrators and sociologists needed to be made aware of the desires of residents and to maintain contacts with those who lived in buildings that, together, they had allowed to exist. He was fervently opposed to the individual house (p.31-33) that he believed only developed further the alienation that cities could produce in an era of risk, dynamism and the 'enterprising spirit'. Notwithstanding those who cherished traditional landscapes and countryside views, it was Arsène-Henry's belief that only in large-scale buildings could the necessary solidarities between residents establish themselves in an urban environment. Arsène-Henry spent all of his life developing *grands ensembles*, administrative buildings, bridges, factories and even places of worship that he wished would one day become a part of a functioning, festive city in which the individual would escape alienation and find fulfilment (Arsène-Henry 1999). In light of the stigmatisation that many of his housing estates now attract, this is almost an ironic thought.

In 1961, Arsène-Henry was designated as chief architect for the future *grand ensemble* of Nîmes. After a meeting with Le Corbusier, where the Swiss architect approved the sketches and designs of the what would become Pissevin and Valdegour, Arsène-Henry spent several days observing the landscape that he would come to redevelop. His belief that the 'site' was to be exploited for 'living-in' by people who would make use of it on a day to day basis, rather than the occasional Sunday strolls of bourgeois families fits well with his designs of the ZUP in Nîmes:

"The path of Pissevin, carved by the steps of heavily laden donkeys carrying the lavender harvests, has allowed that for several centuries the inhabitants of Saint-Cézaire have been able to reach Nîmes through two kilometres of *garrigue*

[regional name given to scrubland] [...]. For centuries, the hand of man [sic] has left this landscape untouched were it not for the occasional planting of a series of olive trees [...] or to build some 'mazets' [name given to the stone-built shelters that farmers built in the countryside to store tools or produce] [...]. It is there, from this path that we discovered the landscape, veiled in the summer evening light. It is there that we have heard, in the early mornings, the songs of the cicadas announcing a scorching day. It is from there, on the hill that dominates the ancient city's pink roofs, that we observed the admirable antique monuments and, on the other side, the fertile plains of the Gard. It is there that we found those colours that Cézanne treasured so much and we understood the attachment that people have for this region (Arsène-Henry 1969: 213-214).

Even as it was hailed as a triumph of modernism conceived in the 'traditional' *garrigue*, from the start there was some resistance to the ZUP by city-centre residents. Within days of the plans being laid out, shop-windows in the city began to display signs that read "Zut à la ZUP!", in an imitation of childish language that translates as 'drat to the ZUPs' (Bernié-Boissard, 2008: 241). From the beginning of 1960s, a number of residents of Nîmes were concerned with the costs of the project as well as the 'unsightly' views of large housing estates within view of the city's historic Roman centre. Although they were originally designed as "objects of prestige" (Bernié-Boissard 1993: 165) by their architect, Valdegour and Pissevin attracted early criticism from those who believed this new type of habitat was not in tune with Nîmes' more traditional housing and that it would damage the environment (Coquery 1965). According to Arsène-Henry (1999: 193), these comments were usually accompanied by threats that read 'Death to Arsène'. He recounts that he was the victim of acts of violence from those who feared that the ZUP would disturb the "bourgeois conservative tranquillity" of the city of Nîmes (1999: 192). Protests were minor in size and they had little consequence over the desire of both the city and the region to erect buildings of "modern standing near the old, decaying centre" (*ibid.*: 194).

4.4 – Pissevin and Valdegour in Nîmes today

"Considering its 162 square kilometres of communal space, Nîmes belongs to those cities whose surface area allows them to be their own banlieue, and thus, to integrate vast social housing neighbourhoods"

Hervé-Vieillard Baron (2007: 131)

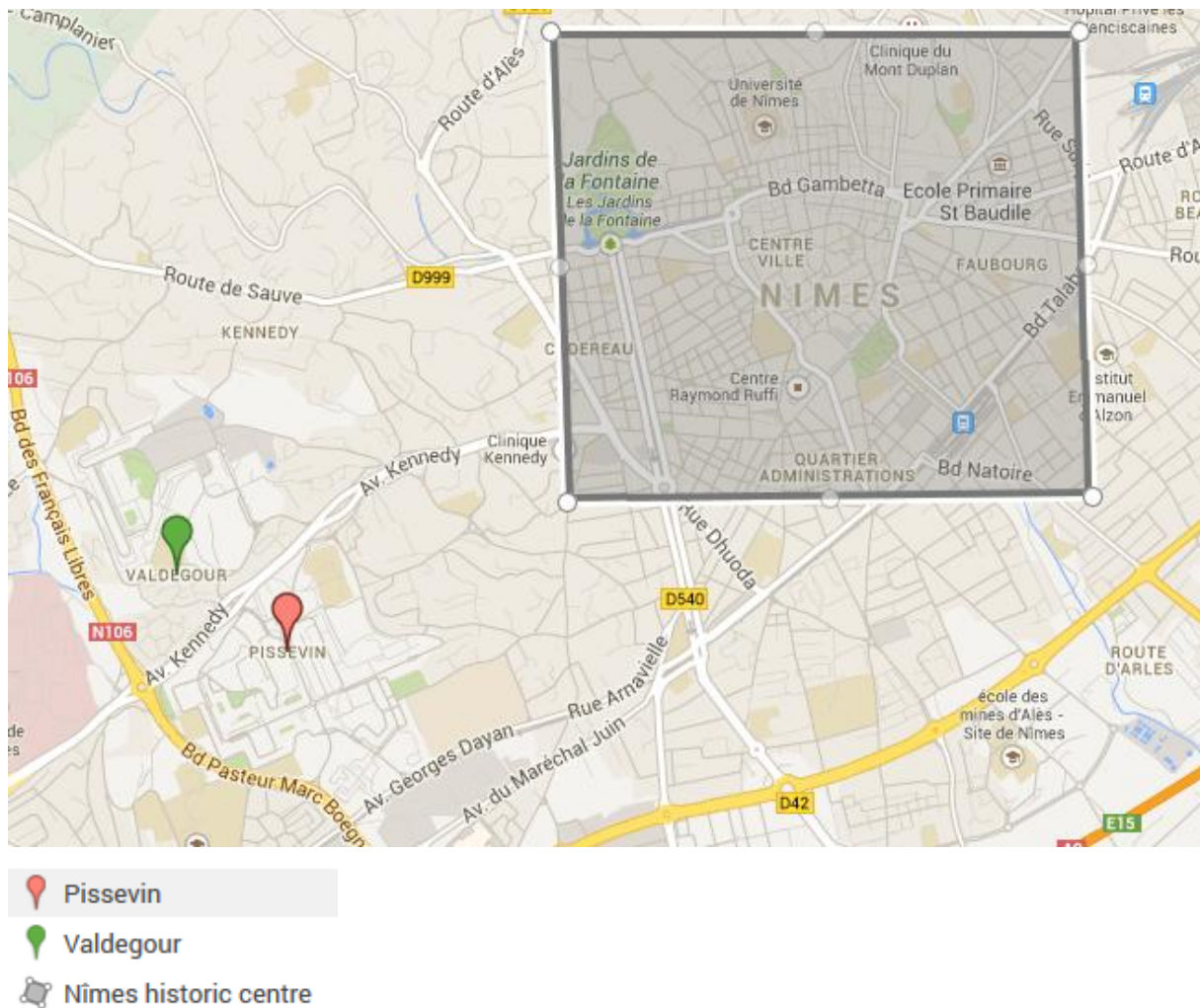


Figure 5: Pissevin and Valdegour in relation to the historic city-centre (Source: Google Maps).

Construction of the *grand ensemble* began in 1962 but the building process took several years and was only 'completed' in 1983. Construction in what is now known as Valdegour did not begin until 1969 (see Vieillard-Baron 2007). In its early days, the entire area was referred to in the singular form, as the ZUP. Indeed, the initial aim was to build a "veritable 'new

town''' (Vieillard-Baron 2007). Relatively rapidly though, people started referring to the 'ZUP-nord' (northern ZUP) and the 'ZUP-sud' (southern ZUP), mentally separating the housing estates into two neighbourhoods (see figure 6 on following page; see also Bernié-Boissard 1993; Marconot 1994). Regardless, it became very difficult for the town hall or local residents to refer to the newly built areas in any language that did not include the administrative urban policy jargon of 'ZUP'. The very names of Pissevin and Valdegour are, in some ways, fairly new. The expanse of land that Arsène-Henry was referring to and upon which the estates would be built had been called Pissevin by those who made use of it. The term comes from the vocabulary of wine-making: during grape picking season, winegrowers would leave vine-shoots for further grapes to grow on burgeoning buds. In Provençal, this was called the '*pissevin*'. Valdegour received its name from the name of the valley upon which it was constructed, val-de-Gour. For the sociologist and Nîmes resident Catherine Bernié-Boissard (2001: 212), these names are intended to camouflage the institutional and administrative realities that govern such territories by linking them to a distant past or inscribing them within nature. It is only in recent years that both neighbourhoods have come to be relabelled as Pissevin and Valdegour, instead of the old term that encapsulated both, the ZUP-Nord.

The ZUP received much positive attention in its early days notwithstanding the negative commentaries that could be heard as it was being designed and constructed. It acted as a pole of attraction for many Nîmois who had grown tired of poor living conditions in the centre of the old city. Before 1962, it was not uncommon for residents in city-centre buildings to share bathroom amenities, and running water had not yet reached the entire central city (Bernié-Boissard 1993: 98). With Algeria's independence from France in 1962, there was a demand to build even larger housing estates in order to house the *pieds-noirs*, the 'black feet', French people who were forced to leave Algeria. A total of 9,000 moved to the region of Nîmes in less than two months during the summer of 1962, leading to increased population pressure on the city centre (Domergue 2006). With the construction of the new *grand ensemble*, they quickly filled flats in the ZUP. Importantly, echoing the recent developments that have taken place in these neighbourhoods, this led to tensions with other residents of these neighbourhoods. Indeed, many people objected to a largely unemployed

and dispossessed population flooding into the neighbourhoods from Algeria (Jordi 1995). Gradually these objections died down and the *pieds-noirs* commenced their integration into Nîmois society (the current mayor and several of his advisors are the children of *pieds-noirs*). The ZUP was first perceived as a hyper-modern construct, offering large flats (with up to 5 bedrooms) and stunning views over the city and the surrounding region, particularly from the towers in Valdegour. Thus, it was not difficult to fill Pissevin and Valdegour, and as Arsène-Henry had hoped (1999: 194), several sub-centres developed within each neighbourhood.



Figure 6: A satellite view of Pissevin and Valdegour (Source: Google Maps).

Taking into account all urban areas with over 50,000 residents, Nîmes was classified as the 16th poorest city in France in 2012, with 29% of people living in conditions of poverty⁶⁵ (Cousseau *et al.* 2012; see also Greuet 2012). This figure includes the larger cities in French

⁶⁵ Households living with under 60% of the median national income.

overseas territory which came high in terms of poverty levels. Thus, if we were to only look at mainland France, Nîmes comes ranked as the 10th poorest city overall. Although, as I explain below, the city has poor neighbourhoods that have not been classified as 'sensitive urban zones', the explanations for Nîmes' high levels of poverty practically always include housing estates located inside the city (see Cousseau *et al.* 2012; Pallez 2001). Although the act of holding these urban quarters responsible is tied up within a whole series of discursive constitutions of place that enable 'blame-the-victim' framing, it would be morally wrong to deny the important difficulties faced by the two neighbourhoods on a material level.

Today, Pissevin and Valdegour have a combined unemployed population of 44.2% as confirmed by the geographic information system of the Centre for Information on the City (CIV) of the *politique de la ville*⁶⁶ (see also Tailhades 2010). The median income in these estates is less than half what it is in the rest of the city of Nîmes with 5600€ as opposed to 13200€ (ObjectifGard 2013). In Valdegour alone 56% of the population lives on or below the poverty line (Zappi 2013). The independent report conducted by Compas, conducted in order to provide urban policy with guidance for future initiatives, explicitly links the poverty of some of Nîmes' neighbourhoods and the high levels of unemployment with 'recently arrived immigrants' (Cousseau *et al.* 2012). However, the report fails to define 'recent'. This is unhelpful as it does not take into account the fact that the unemployment levels in these neighbourhoods has changed relatively little over the past 40 years when the equation 'housing estate = postcolonial immigrants' was not yet entirely activated in the popular imagination. Of course, as stated above, the neighbourhoods have always *also* been places for 'immigrants' to set up home, as with the *pieds-noirs* returning from Algeria, and the tensions that this provoked that I mention above⁶⁷. In effect, in radicalising the problem, what the Compas report misses is that hardship in Valdegour and Pissevin is not a novelty

⁶⁶ <http://sig.ville.gouv.fr/zone/91030ZF>.

⁶⁷ Ironically, as Anne Roche (1992) notes, a number of *pieds-noirs* were among the most unhappy to see North Africans moving into priority urbanisation neighbourhoods a few years after they themselves had been forced to leave Algeria. She explains that the unease demonstrated by the *pieds-noirs* (which they continue to demonstrate [see Jordi 2002]) is anchored in complicated colonial relationships that have privileged the polarisation of emotions, treating the figure of 'the Arab' both as an enemy and a friend, as always present and always absent (see Roche 1992: 72).

and as I show in chapter 7, although 'race' is regularly activated by residents, for most of them it is not an impediment to constructions of collective belonging to the neighbourhood.

Importantly, all these issues are not only experienced by residents of Valdegour and Pissevin and they are not the only 'sensitive' neighbourhoods in Nîmes. Within the administrative borders the city there are four recognised sensitive urban zones. The first two estates are located to the North-East of the city. Chemin-Bas-d'Avignon was built first and, because of a persistent population growth, Mas de Mingue followed (1959-1964). Pissevin and Valdegour are located to the South-West of the city, below the hillsides and the dense *garrigue*. Altogether, the inner city residents of sensitive urban zones within the city of Nîmes account for 25% of the total population of the city. 17,000 of this total (the majority) reside within Pissevin and Valdegour. Within the *agglomération*, the metropolitan region of Nîmes, there is one further ZUS, named Sabatot, in the town of Saint-Gilles⁶⁸. Like every other ZUS that has in part been constituted through the *politique de la ville*, Pissevin and Valdegour are mapped out road by road. A document describes with the utmost precision the perimeter of the neighbourhoods, naming each road, street or park that delimits the 'sensitive' space from the rest of the city. Both of the neighbourhoods are mapped into different sectors with different designations ('painters neighbourhood'; 'writers neighbourhood', 'scientists neighbourhood') that correspond to the titles of street names (see Groupe Reflex 2010; Mairie de Nîmes 2010).

Social housing in the Nîmes Métropole (90% of which is located within Nîmes) is managed by the public office HLM Habitat du Gard and by semi-private HLM agencies (Un Toit Pour Tous, Erilia, Vaucluse Logement). Habitat du Gard operates as the social housing landlord for 80% of the housing in Pissevin and Valdegour after another HLM operator was closed for misuse of public funds fifteen years ago. Although renovations - and demolitions - have happened in Valdegour, during the past 20 years, Habitat du Gard has conducted no renovations in Pissevin. Interviewed in *Le Monde*, the director of the social housing organisation admits that he is ashamed: "There are housing estates that I would not go to anymore, because I'm just too embarrassed" (quoted in Zappi 2013). Any attempts at making repairs and

⁶⁸ For a map of this region: <http://sig.ville.gouv.fr/zone/9100060>

redecorations are blocked in the decision making process by the divisions that exist between the conservative government of the city and the socialist departmental council. The city government of Nîmes is endlessly promoting 'social mix' and the establishment in the housing estates of a mixed system of housing where jointly owned buildings would exist side by side with the HLM system (see FNOHLM 2007: 156; *Midi Libre* 2000, 2004; Tailhades 2008) but nothing is being done about the growing problem of *marchands de sommeil*. These 'sleep merchants' are the private owners of insalubrious homes (often without heating) that they rent at exorbitant prices to people who have little other choices while they wait for social housing to be made available.

Nîmes has important pockets of poverty that are not situated in housing estates but these are rarely mentioned in local news. One of the central city's neighbourhoods, known as Gambetta, has for a long time inspired feelings of fear in other residents. The roads in Gambetta are narrow and the shopping facilities were once commonly described as 'ethnic'. It is not a ZUS but it is a neighbourhood of the *politique de la ville* and recent renovations in this neighbourhood, which has 'benefitted' from a CUCS contract, have now led to small scale gentrification and a significant rise in property and rent prices. Notwithstanding the impressions that Gambetta would inspire, it has never experienced levels of stigmatisation that are in any way comparable to that of the four housing estates located in Nîmes (see Maconot 1998).

When the ANRU was set up to manage funding of large scale projects in 2003, the deciding body within Nîmes Métropole determined that funds should be primarily directed to Chemin-Bas-d'Avignon, Mas-de-Mingue and Sabatot. It was only in 2004 that Valdegour was added to the list and, when the town hall asked for more funds in order to 'rehabilitate' Pissevin, the ANRU funds had ceased to be allocated⁶⁹. In total, Nîmes signed an agreement for 152 million Euros, with one third of the funds emanating from the ANRU. The rest was to be granted by the Languedoc-Roussillon region, the *département* of the Gard and Nîmes Métropole. The signed convention highlighted the key points to be addressed: "Enhance the social environment, create federative public spaces, open up the neighbourhoods to the rest

⁶⁹ <http://www.insee.fr/fr/ppp/bases-de-donnees/donnees-detaillees/duicq/uu.asp?reg=91&uu=30601>

of the city via transport links, increase the social mix of these areas" (quoted in Vieillard-Baron 2007: 132). Jacques Perotti, the deputy in charge of the implementation of urban policy for the city of Nîmes explained that: "Nîmes has 24 to 25% of social housing. That could be a tolerable level, except that here, all of it is concentrated into the same neighbourhoods" (quoted in *Le Point* 2005). Ultimately, 974 demolitions of homes have taken place for now (327 in Valdegour, 521 in Chemin-Bas-d'Avignon and 91 in Sabatot). The total cost of these renovation/demolitions was over 192 million Euros⁷⁰. The sociologist Francis Pougnet who worked on an independent study of the neighbourhoods for Groupe Reflex states that urban policies have nonetheless "failed the sensitive neighbourhoods and their residents" (Groupe Reflex 2010). Notwithstanding these understandings, city officials in charge of urban policy are pressing for an 'ANRU 2' in order to make operational a number of demolitions in Pissevin and to pursue the demolition of some of Valdegour's housing blocks (Tailhades 2008).

To the west, Valdegour has been particularly highlighted as a 'problematic' neighbourhood and as such was one of the first to experience large scale demolishing of buildings, the most recent of which are the Archimède and Galilée towers in 2009 (see FNOHLM 2007). Valdegour has a higher number of cumulative difficulties than Pissevin and the town hall has decided to spend increased sums to treat the ills there through urban renovation. Indeed, Nîmes did not wait for ANRU funds to start tearing down buildings in Valdegour. In 1998 the blocks of Les Gendarmes and Newton were demolished with city funds and the population was displaced to the Sabatot housing estate in the nearby municipality of Saint Gilles. In 2000, Nîmes signed a Grand Projet de Ville (GPV), a contract signed with the regional and national governments destined to enact urban renovations in France's toughest 50 neighbourhoods. All four of Nîmes' estates were destined to be renovated in order to promote social mix and increased security in what were termed "isolates of poverty and exclusion" (Briseul *et al.* 2000: 158). Then in 2005, the Perrin tower was razed to the ground. Several more 'renovations' are planned for the years to come (Mairie de Nîmes 2010). Notwithstanding these 'efforts', Vieillard-Baron (2007) notes that all the indicators are still

⁷⁰ <http://www.nimes-metropole.fr/quotidien/habitat/politique-de-la-ville/programme-anru.html>.

'red' and that 20% of homes remain vacant. 77% of the apartments in Valdegour are HLMs as opposed to 59% in Pissevin (*ibid.*). To encourage businesses to hire residents, Valdegour has been selected as a tax concession zone⁷¹. This type of urban policy designation enables companies to benefit from tax breaks when they set up their central offices in such neighbourhoods. This led to a small number of companies moving their head offices to the vicinity of the housing estate. Ultimately however, this did not provide much improvement in employment chances for Valdegour's residents (Vieillard-Baron 2007: 132). According to the *Midi Libre* (20th May 2011), less than 100 often part-time jobs were created as a result, mostly in logistics and cleaning.

As previously stated, Valdegour is considered to be in a "deeply troubling situation" according to a national newspaper:

"the average revenue here is 500 euros, 54% of the 18-25 year-olds are unemployed, 44% for those over 25, abstention levels of 70% at the latest elections. An esplanade of concrete and dusty grassed areas; often silence is overpowering. [...] Diversity among nationalities is inexistent: the population is almost exclusively from the Maghreb" (*Libération* 2012).

The 1st of August 2003 law mentioned in the previous chapter, which allowed for the creation of the ANRU, had originally stated that for every destroyed home, one home would be constructed. Constructions have been taking place around Valdegour. Of importance is the fact that a very small minority have been built near the site of the housing estate itself. Constructions take place at the margins of the 'sensitive zone' leaving no hope as to the imagined future of this neighbourhood. The number of constructions is far from the 'one-for-one' promise that was determined in 2003. Ninety-five homes have been built in Valdegour (Vieillard-Bardon 2007: 133). Displaced residents have been moved to Pissevin's vacant apartments and to other municipalities within Nîmes Métropole (*Libération* 2012). Vieillard-Baron (2007) highlights the difficulties that accompany projected demolitions, as all residents of a building are placed in temporary housing within another tower-block while

⁷¹ Zone Franche Urbaine.

they wait for confirmation of re-housing. These long periods, he says, contribute to the disqualification of the whole area (p.133).

Valdegour is often represented as the 'worst off' of the two *cités* but Pissevin also makes headlines in the local news. The neighbourhood was described as "the Bronx" by Joël Guénot, a senior civil servant and chief education officer (*Midi Libre* 12th March 2010). His declaration came after incidents of violence in a middle-school. Pissevin's Collège Condorcet had already made national news when it was highlighted as the school in which most incidences of 'serious violence' had been recorded for the years 2005-2006. The principal of the school blamed this violence on the 'ghettoisation of the neighbourhood' and the fact that children in Condorcet were often raised by single parents or from ruptured families (*Le Point* 2006). Such representations, under the media tag of 'banlieue', have obvious and profound effects on how these estates are conceived as antitheses to the rest of the city (Hargreaves 1994). The importance of highlighting the inequality that exists between Nîmes' neighbourhoods is underwritten by the bleakness of the descriptions. The clash between the housing estates and the rest of the city is underlined in the *Libération* article: "From the high-rises of Valdegour, there is a magnificent 360° view on the beautiful region of Nîmes, over there, at the foot of the hill" (*Libération* 2012). Some residents fear that the regular demolitions that take place in Valdegour without their agreement are intended to definitely 'clean up' the hill in order to make space for a '*beau quartier*', an upmarket neighbourhood (Zappi 2013).

Relatively recently, Nîmes' housing estates, and Pissevin and Valdegour in particular, have begun to gain some level of national attention. Ségolène Royal, a presidential candidate for the 2012 elections visited the estates during her campaign in February (Cadène 2012). As I have already pointed out, Valdegour was also the topic of an article in *Libération*, a major daily newspaper (*Libération* 2012). Importantly, the *cités* had already gained temporary national recognition when a television programme, *Appels d'Urgence*, focussed its attention on violence in the city of Nîmes. On the 12th of February 2010, TF1, a popular television channel broadcasted the TV-documentary, entitled "*Nîmes: flics sous pression, délinquants prêts à tout*" (Nîmes: cops under pressure and delinquents ready for everything).



Appels d'Urgence, TF1, 12-02-2010: Over rising hip-hop beats, the voice-over states that "The town of Nîmes, a historic quarter, but also some sensitive housing estates that surround the city."

The opening lines of the show, spoken by the presenter Carole Rousseau, are typical of the reproduction of both Nîmes as a frightening city and of its housing estates as responsible for this reputation:

"For many, Nîmes is firstly synonymous with the famous *férias*: one million people who come to party in a relaxed atmosphere. But for the four hundred police officers of the city, it is also an urban area under high pressure. This is because one of the things we know less about Nîmes is that it shares with Cannes the fact of being the city with that comes first when it comes to the percentage of delinquency. Assault, mugging, burglary, incivility... Nîmes illustrates all the words that regularly make the headlines. This delinquency takes place in and emanates principally from Nîmes' sensitive neighbourhoods, but it has begun to spread out and affect the city centre and a number of smaller municipalities that had until then been relatively spared."

This television 'documentary' launched a huge controversy when the mayor of Nîmes complained bitterly about the taint that this program conferred upon the rest of the city. In one article, an unnamed 'senior civil servant' is quoted as saying: "Valdegour, this is not Nîmes"⁷², rearticulating the stark difference that the neighbourhoods represent and casting them outside the imagined space of the rest of the city. In his blog, the sociologist Laurent

⁷² See <http://www.arretsimages.net/dossier.php?id=213> [last accessed 18 March 2010]

Mucchielli (2010) decried the biases, the partiality of the analysis and the 'culture of fear' that was being spread by TF1 through such sensationalist documents. He echoes the concerns of some of the residents for whom Nîmes 'is not Chicago' (see *Midi Libre* 2010).

4.5 - Conclusion

The *cités* are examples of spaces on the margin, the representation of which has evolved considerably towards ethnic containers in which deprivation and violence are the order of things. In a very extreme conclusion to his essay on the city of Nîmes, Vincent Liger (1987) goes as far as arguing that the ZUPs have become the source of a greater trauma to the city than even the Second World War. As early as 1988, Jean-Marie Marconot, a sociologist and long-time resident of Pissevin, wrote that the distinction between the old centre of Nîmes and the new part is one of the most accentuated that he could imagine. In Nîmes, "[t]he equilibrium has not been realised, the digestion of the ZUPs by the city government, both mentally and physically has never materialised" (Marconot 1988: 206). Pissevin and Valdegour remain resolutely outside the imagined vision of Nîmes. They are depicted as dilapidated, outmoded 'citadels' (FNOHLM 2007: 99-100) and residents who live there are described as residing within 'enclaves' (see Nîmes Métropole, 2009). This breeds the images of lawlessness that are reproduced in the media as well as in everyday conversations throughout the city.



A view of Valdegour (Source: photo by the author).

This chapter has developed the specificity of Pissevin and Valdegour. As such it is intended to explain some of the reasons behind my choice to conduct research in these *cités*. *The architecture, the recent history, the involvement and impacts of the politique de la ville and the fact that renovations and a large number of demolitions, have occurred in these housing estates point to the fact that Pissevin and Valdegour are ideal sites in which to study territorial stigmatisation.* As I have explained comprehensively in the methodology chapter of this thesis, *they are also housing estates that have been constructed within an average-sized city*, and as such their study moves away from the paradigmatic city model that characterises much of the work on urban stigma (see Bell and Jayne 2009).

Chapter 6 - Internalising and reproducing negative representations

"For over a generation, between the sensitive urban neighbourhoods and the rest of the city, the fracture has grown larger, to the extent where it is now almost visible to the naked eye and the fears and fantasies have taken shape on maps"
(Begag 2002: 266)

6.1 – Introduction

"It is not Chicago" reads the title of an article published in the regional daily, the *Midi Libre*. The words are a direct quote from Richard Tibérino, the mayoral assistant in charge of security. A long time resident of Pissevin whose parents managed a photo equipment shop upon their return from Algeria in the early 1960s, Tibérino took over their commercial exploitation before heading into politics.

"The situation has deteriorated since the early 1990s. The owners are getting older and those who don't own are crushed by rental charges. There are problems with incivilities, lack of respect and issues concerning neighbourly relations in general but it is not Chicago!" (quoted in *Midi Libre*, 3rd February 2010)

Not everyone agrees with Tibérino's final assessment. As in other French housing estates, the fear of what is perceived to be progressing ghettoisation is rife. Whether they support the idea that there is a tendency for some *banlieues* to develop in ways that resemble the African-American ghettos (Boucher 2007: 26; see also Amara 2006; Bronner 2010; Lapeyronnie 2008; Laurence and Vaisse 2006: 35-38; Masclet 2005; Maurin 2004; Simon 1992; Touraine 1991) or whether they refute this trend (Adell and Capodano 2001; Begag

and Delorme 1993; Béhar 1995; Belhaj Kacem 2006; Kelfaoui 1990; Robine 2004; Stébé 2009; Vieillard-Baron 1998; Wacquant 1992), social scientists recognise the tremendous power of the imagery that accompanies stigmatising representations. For Wacquant (2008a), the conflation between *cités* and ghettos is one of the major consequences of territorial stigmatisation in France. It has lasting effects on the ways in which such spaces are constituted and on the way they are perceived by the makers of urban policy. Importantly, the conflation also affects the ways in which housing estates are talked about in everyday conversation. When Nîmes' so-called *banlieues* are discussed by non-residents of these places, it is most likely in the negative. The future of *cités* is imagined to be bleak and imbued with pessimism. These stigmatic representations feed into an idea of the city that is split into two, with a dominant, historic, vibrant and central part that is opposed to the marginalised, peripheral and dominated urban periphery. However, one can more easily identify those voiceless residents who live in visually recognisable housing estates and who are somewhat cut off from full participation due to the everyday forms of stigmatisation that they endure. This stigmatisation has to do with class, ethnicity and religion, but it is also territorial (Béhar 1995; Bourdieu 1999 [1993]; Duprez and Hedli 1992; Faure 2006; Robine 2004; Stovall 2003; Wacquant 2007b). Some would no doubt argue that today, the stigma is mostly about race yet the long history of territorial stigmatisation that I have described in chapter 4 of this thesis points to the importance of place and exteriority.

In this chapter, I begin by looking at the ways in which territorial stigmatisation is (re)produced from outside housing estates by the non-residents of these places⁷³. I then point to the multiple ways through which it is internalised by residents of Valdegour and Pissevin. The chapter is organised in three main parts. In the first part I examine discourses that point to the threat of an 'invasion of the centre' by those who are considered to be inherently peripheral. The stigma that derives from residing in Pissevin and Valdegour is one that is carried outside the neighbourhood. I examine the language of non-residents of housing estates who describe their feelings when they believe they are in contact with people from the *cités*. These are often perceived as encounters with others who are not in

⁷³ Henceforth, I shall refer to non-residents of Pissevin and Valdegour as simply 'non-residents'.

their rightful place. The presence of housing estate residents is described as invasive and a source of anxiety. People from the margins are imagined to be inherently out-of-place when they enter the centre (see hooks 1990, 1992, 1994). In the second sub-section I examine representations that Nîmois who do not live in a housing estate have of Pissevin and Valdegour as a *banlieue* landscape with a population that is imagined to be both postcolonial and threatening. This threat is linked to descriptions of *cités* from which only negative attributes emerge (people, cultural productions, incivility). The third sub-section briefly looks at the anxieties of people who are neighbours of housing estates. They all live within no more than a couple of hundred metres from the urban policy designated 'sensitive zones' and their language is imbued with a fear of contagion. I relate their desires not to see their homes polluted, if only by reputation, through the proximity to the stigmatised places.

The second part of the chapter develops the ways in which territorial stigmatisation is internalised by some of those who live in Pissevin and Valdegour. In a first sub-part, I discuss the narratives of residents who feel the burden of stigmatic representations and who, at times withdraw into the domestic space of the home. I also bring to the fore a number of residents' passionate defence of *their* home, *their* building or the few blocks around it. This is articulated as a strategy of self-preservation in the face of stigmatising representations of place as it comes hand in hand with a tactic of "lateral denigration" of other residents and spaces in the neighbourhoods (Wacquant 2007b, 2008a). In a second sub-section, I describe the feelings of residents who show signs of having internalised the bleak and oppressive atmosphere that suffuses the *cité* and the stigma. These respondents often express a desire to 'escape', 'run away' and 'flee' from a place in which they feel imprisoned (see Wacquant 2008a: 147).

Finally, the chapter looks at the internalisation of topics that are debated on a national level and associated with 'sensitive urban zones'. The visions that are reproduced as a consequence of media treatment can be reproduced in the language of non-residents and internalised by the residents of housing estates. First, I examine the idea of juvenile delinquency. The moral panic of the *cités* youth has gradually replaced that of the threatening working-class youth of the 1960s as the moral panic of the age (see Mohammed

and Mucchielli 2007). I then explain that Islam has proved to be constitutive of the stigmatisation of Pissevin and Valdegour. Islam and its presence in the housing estates was raised in practically every interview that I conducted, whether with residents, non-residents, elites or social workers. National fears that regard Islam as difficult to assimilate within the 'one and indivisible Republic' (Bowen 2010; Bozzo 2005; Geisser 2003; Kastoryano 2004) have unmistakably found their way into the discourses of people in Nîmes. This does not imply that people's consideration of the religion is necessarily tainted and a number of respondents wished to present Islam in a positive way. This included both residents of housing estates and non-residents. Nonetheless, discourses that promote Islamophobia do exist and they contribute to framing the *banlieue* landscape as not quite fitting into the national landscape. Importantly, Wacquant (2008a) hardly broaches upon the 'problem' of Islam in the *banlieues*. Yet to ignore the fact that Islam is being framed as a 'national problem' is deeply problematic. The French geographer, Sylvie Tissot (2007b) insists that race and religion are more important than Wacquant portrays it in shaping perceptions of the *banlieues*.

6.2 - Non-residents representations of Pissevin and Valdegour

6.2.1 - Introduction: French ZUPs in 'ordinary talk'

In 2006, the total population of people residing in a 'sensitive urban zone' (ZUS)⁷⁴ was 4.4 million (Chevalier and Lebeaupin 2007). This means that approximately 1 in 12 people in metropolitan France were living in stigmatised housing estates (Fitoussi *et al.* 2003). Notwithstanding, a vast majority of non-estate residents will never in their lifetime venture into such an 'urban policy zone'. There is neither the need for this, as shopping or administrative facilities are usually located elsewhere, nor a real desire to do this as the stigmatising representations of the ZUS construct them as threatening and dangerous places. This does not prevent the day to day gossip and the loaded assumptions that

⁷⁴ See chapter 4 for an explanation of this urban policy designation.

pervades the daily discussions in cafés, town squares and at family dinner tables. This type of everyday talk, what Charles Tilly (2005: 140) refers to as "ordinary talk", is particularly strong in maintaining the social barriers and invisible walls that divide urban societies (see also Caldeira 2000). A consequence of such constructions is that stigmatised neighbourhoods and their residents are treated differently on a variety of levels. The state re-orders itself in ways that were once inclined towards the provision of welfare for these areas to an increasingly punitive form allowing for the emergence of the 'republican penal state' (Dikeç 2007a: 31-34). The police, as an arm of the state that enforces such changes, increasingly operates within housing estates in ways that are intended to securitise urban populations, and this too leads to the reproduction of boundary making (Fassin 2011; Jobard 2005; Marlière 2007; Mohammed and Mucchielli 2006).

6.2.2 - Fear of the margins and the 'invasion' of the centre

When asked whether Pissevin and Valdegour residents often visited the city-centre, a shop manager from the historic central city admitted that she could not visibly tell the difference between *cité* residents and non-residents. She nonetheless explained that she had a tendency to make certain assumptions in this regard:

It is probably the case that when you see a headscarf or a visible minority like an Arab or a Maghrébin⁷⁵ in the city-centre, they could be coming from one of the neighbourhoods [housing estates in the city of Nîmes]. This is just me huh, just a feeling right. Right, you can't be sure of course and I don't know but I think maybe they tend to live in those neighbourhoods more.

In this respondent's analysis, the 'neighbourhoods' are thought of as essentially populated by ethnic others from the Maghreb and they are construed as out of place when encountered in other parts of the city. In effect, such framing allocates 'different' people to 'different' places and as such, it enacts a geography of placement (see Pratt and Hanson

⁷⁵ Term used to refer to people of North African origin.

1994). The presence of 'visible minorities' aside, she also associates Islam to the area with her reference to headscarves. During the interview, the shopkeeper claimed that she could situate in time a weekly "invasion of the city-centre". On Wednesday afternoons, schoolchildren in the state education system are released from classes a little earlier than usual. Most children will then be allowed out in order to attend extracurricular activities such as sport or music lessons. The shop manager insisted that this was a time when "the kids from Pissevin" leave the neighbourhoods to "hang out in the city centre streets and cause havoc". The accusation that *cité* youth loiter in the central area, potentially scaring those who stroll the streets came accompanied with claims of incivility. When I asked the shopkeeper if she personally had been the victim of anything that she could directly attribute to a *cité* resident she responded that:

These kids, of course they steal from the shops around here. Of course they do. They try to intimidate the other kids [those who are not from housing estates] and there are plenty of stories of young ones from here who have had their phones snatched... you know... They take the phone while you're calling, that kind of thing. Well it happens a lot. And the rest of the time they just sit around. They don't really have anything to do here but they still leave the ZUP regularly. Maybe just to get away from it? Or maybe just to pass time.

Early on, Pissevin is specifically referred to by this respondent but her later use of 'ZUP' signals that she is in fact including Valdegour into the discussion. The assumption that she develops is that the thieving and lazy youths from the neighbourhoods feel the need to get away from their neighbourhood. Such emotions are felt well beyond the confines of French housing estates, and the presence of youths in public places in other regional or national contexts also leads some to feel that a neighbourhood is "a bit dodgy" (Watts and Stenson 1998). The depiction of the *cités* as threatening places in which violence occurs regularly makes it easy to connect the violence of young people from the neighbourhoods to their place of residence⁷⁶. From the ways in which they are socially constituted, it is also difficult to imagine that there might be leisure activities in any of the housing estates. Hence the

⁷⁶ for only the most recent news relating to violence, see *Le Midi Libre* 2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d, 2012e; *Libération* 2012; Zappi 2013.

youths from such neighbourhoods feel the need 'to get away'. Another shop manager loosely associates the *cité* youth with idleness as well as a menace:

I have three little ones. And my eldest, he's fourteen years old. I tell him to stay home and do his homework on Wednesday afternoons. It isn't complicated is it? He's got work to do. [...] I don't want them in town anyway. Everyone will tell you that it isn't a good time to walk through the city.

The children of *cité* residents are not only deemed unwelcome but they are perceived as violent and threatening to the security that supposedly reigns on other days of the week. To some extent, they are understood as the victims of 'bad parenting' which is itself seen as an effect of life in housing estates. Such suggestions are infused with the reality of class inequality and a discourse of disgust for the most marginalised urban residents (see Tyler 2008). The respondent claims to be doing his fatherly duty. Indeed, on Wednesday afternoons, he sends his child to do his homework whilst *cité* parents let their children travel into the city centre in groups, giving an air of invasion to their weekly trip. Families from housing estates are constituted as having no control over their children, which leads to a set of behaviours that are inadequate in the centre of Nîmes: thieving, threatening non-*cité* kids, loitering and generally acting out of place. Another non-resident of housing estates claimed that shops had to be almost boarded up in the past:

Before Fournier [the current mayor of Nîmes], there would be shops that would have to close up on some days. Or what you started to see is what you have now, with security guards at the front of every shop. But even that isn't enough sometimes because they have new techniques and they use guns, like in the McDonalds where they came with their fake guns and tried to steal the till. They are more and more violent, it is clear.⁷⁷

PK: Were the two men from a housing estate?

⁷⁷ This is a reference to an armed robbery that took place in a McDonald's in La Coupole, a shopping mall in the central city, on the 26th of December 2009. The gun used in the attack was fake. One of the two men was shot and killed by the police.

Probably, you know. It is where most of the criminality comes from, that seems pretty obvious. That, you can't deny it; And I'm not judging... I mean: you have less money, equals you try to get money. The crimes like these, well I think that... you can probably say they are done by guys who come from poorer parts, where you have social problems, no?

Whereas the respondent attempts to provide a justification for crimes committed in the central city area, her instinctive feel is that populations from neighbourhoods that suffer from social woes are more likely to resort to criminality. The assumption is that, because there is little general support for communities in poor urban areas such as Pissevin or Valdegour, residents can at times be pushed into richer areas in order to steal and they are 'increasingly' resorting to violence in order to do so. Such explanations are likely to perpetuate the feeling that housing estate residents are generally more prone to commit crimes and, what is more, that these will be committed in neighbourhoods outside their estates (Stébé 2004). The idea that the violence is committed by 'guys' is exemplary of male urban poor being constituted as moral panics who are at once hypervisible and yet nowhere to be seen (see Alexander 2000). This type of everyday talk is constitutive of the discourse that leads housing estate residents to be perceived as 'out of place' when they leave the *cité*. Of course, not all housing estate residents are of post-colonial descent but the visualisation of difference leads to suspicion. People of North-African descent, and other ethnic groups that are imagined not to 'belong', are identified, possibly wrongly, as *cité* residents (Pan Ké Shon 2010), thus linking the stigma of race to that of place.

Tales of invasion are amplified in the context of burglaries committed in the homes of non-*cité* residents. Anxiety is present in the description of these thefts that, although sometimes unsolved by the police, are nonetheless attributed to residents of Nîmes' housing estates:

If they stuck to their neighbourhood and did their own thing... But they come over here and they get into your house. I know people who have called in some people for work in the house and [*mimes an explosion*] boom! There you have

it, the guy was from the neighbourhood, he talks to his mates and the house was robbed within weeks.

In another example, the suspicion that someone from North African descent creates when he does not get off at the 'right' bus stop is mentioned by one interviewee. One respondent, an unemployed man in his fifties, explains that:

it would be a lie to say everyone lives happily side by side. I take the bus regularly and I know at which stop you'll be starting to see the *Maghrébins* getting in. The bus is basically for the elderly and the immigrants only. [...] Maybe it is bad but when I see a *Maghrébin* on the bus when we've entered a neighbourhood that I know he can't be living in, I sometimes feel a bit suspicious. But you know, he's maybe just going to the other end of the line! (*laughs*) It is bad of me eh? All these prejudices. I know that... But on the other hand, you just need to be a bit careful at my age, you know."

Home burglaries are also fairly common in everyday discussions in Nîmes. According to the *Midi Libre* (2-03-2012), there have been 6 burglaries per day in Nîmes in 2011 and the local media covers these events with regularity. An interview with a couple from a reasonably well off part of town is one of the most representative of the concern that non-estate residents have with fortifying their homes in order to prevent it from being burgled. The husband explained that they have installed a camera above their front door that communicates with an alarm surveillance family. While on holiday, an intruder attempted to break into their home:

You couldn't see his face because he had a hoodie. [...] The thing is that the Gard [the administrative department of which Nîmes is the capital] has records for home burglaries that outweigh anywhere else. And, I don't think it is racist to say that it also has a large number of immigrants who were forced into poor neighbourhoods. [...] In the end, we just don't want to go on holiday anymore, because you never know.

In another instance, it is the noise that young people make on scooters that is blamed on *cité* residents. Although the respondent's garden wall precluded us from seeing the street beyond, the participant hinted that the scooters were potentially stolen:

If you stay here [the resident's home] long enough, I'm sure you'll hear the sound of their scooters. They just drive around at full speed and the roads are pretty narrow so... It is like they are waiting to cause an accident. And who do you think the scooters belong to? I can tell you one thing... they certainly didn't buy them themselves.

From accusations of theft to loud, unruly noise, those in Nîmes who are of immigrant descent are associated with a number of the ills of the city. These are imagined to originate in a specific neighbourhood, a part of the city where different 'others' are thought to reside, whether they are conceived as 'foreign' or 'ethnically different'. The fact that estate residents cross imaginary boundaries and show themselves in places where they are understood to be out of place is a consequence of residential segregation, racism but also of territorial stigmatisation. The overlap is due to assumptions about race that are entwined with assumptions about place. These assumptions profoundly shape potential contacts between residents of Pissevin and Valdegour and other residents of Nîmes who develop feelings of anxiety or suspicion.

6.2.3 - Non-resident depictions of Nîmes' *banlieue* landscape

The landscape of the housing estates is thought by these non-residents to be a contributing factor to social insecurity and the threatening nature of these neighbourhoods. Notwithstanding Richard Tibérino's reminder that Pissevin and Valdegour are 'not Chicago', the neighbourhoods are cast as marginal and as different to the rest of the city. Both Pissevin and Valdegour are depicted as insalubrious, imposing and home to populations that are conceived as threatening and ethnically different. Although they are dispersed throughout the city, Nîmes' four housing estates are a constant presence in discussions with people throughout the city. They are perpetually reproduced as the mythical *banlieue*, even

as they are not suburbs per se. They have taken on the heavy symbolic burden that comes with being affiliated to *banlieues*-spaces even though non-residents of estates admit that they do not 'conform' to the definition.

I know it is wrong to call them a *banlieue*. In many ways they are closer to the city centre [the historic centre] than our house. But these places look a bit like a ghetto.

The neighbourhood in which this respondent lives is extremely residential, reasonably green and fairly populated but importantly, it is located further from the historic centre than any of the ZUPs. His home is located within Nîmes, although it is at the extreme Eastern part of the city. Interestingly, and although he highlights the question of distance, the respondent rearticulates the conflation between the word *banlieue* and that of the ghetto. It does not matter how far one is from the core of the city, the ultimate signs that determine whether an urban area belongs to the category of the '*banlieue*' has to do with architectural appearance. On being asked whether '*banlieue*' is the appropriate word to use to describe Pissevin and Valdegour, a respondent said:

I don't think *banlieue* means what it used to mean. For me and everyone else in Nîmes, it means Pissevin. It means the ZUP. Tell me the difference between these zones and the ones you'd see around Paris. They are no-go zones, all of them."

The notion of 'no-go zone' points to this respondents' belief that the housing estates are places in which the police cannot perform its role appropriately. The architecture of these places is associated with the physical appearance of buildings that can be found far from Nîmes, in the *banlieues* of Paris. This adds to the depiction of a homogeneous '*banlieue*-landscape' that is replicated throughout France on the borders of cities. The aesthetics of tower blocks are problematic for one respondent:

"I had a friend drive in to see us from Paris not too long ago. He was shocked. Not even in Paris do you see this kind of architecture outside the city! The scale

of these things is really ridiculous. Anyway, my mate called and said something like 'Am I really entering Nîmes or is this Algiers!'"

This man's friend makes a colonial and racialising reference when he establishes a physical link between housing estates in Nîmes with cities in North Africa. The obvious connotation is that such blocks are populated by Algerians, a country that France once 'possessed'. The fact that Algerians live separate from other residents was a feature of life in colonial Algiers and this man seemed to expect that such a separation would be replicated in the French metropolis today. The respondent himself expresses dismay at the fact that Nîmes' housing estates are 'more imposing than those that can be found around the French capital', the paradigmatic examples of *banlieues*. Such commanding block sizes and the surface on which they are built are deemed to be too large and 'ridiculous'.

"When I think of Nîmes, I think of fun things like the restaurants and the bars. And then when you drive by Pissevin, you think that this isn't possible. How could they have let this happen?"

A recent resident of the Northern part of Nîmes, this interviewee reiterates the opposition between a historic centre and Pissevin. The central area is linked to 'fun'. This is contrasted with the 'unpleasantness' of the appearance of housing estates just five minutes drive from the dynamic parts of the city. Articulating the discourse of disgust that often applies to Pissevin, the buildings there are presented as a mistake that should not have been allowed to happen.

The vision that opposes Nîmes to its internal housing estates is often replicated onto those who inhabit the stigmatised landscape itself. As such, in the following quotes from non-*cité* residents, those who live in Pissevin and Valdegour are associated with rioting, Islam, foreignness, distance, lack of civility and laziness:

Today, if you turn on the TV news in the evening you are inundated with stories of gang rape⁷⁸, rioting, you have the stories of people killing sheep in their bathtubs. It feels like you're hearing about some place far away. But no! It is right there on our doorsteps in our *banlieues*. And all the while you think, how are these people ever going to act French? [...] I don't understand why there isn't more of an effort to demonstrate that we are in France.

People always say to me that I should go to the Arab market [the weekly market in Pissevin]. I've been. I just don't feel at home there at all. It feels like you're in the Middle East or North Africa and I just feel very uncomfortable there - you know, as a woman.

We're in Europe here. I came [from Portugal] here because we want to work and I wanted to live well. It should have been the same for them [*cité* residents] and it really isn't. [...] My feeling is that you have to abide by the rules which exist. You respect the people who welcome you, their law, their religion. This is my view, OK? I don't see why they don't see it too.

These respondents conflate culture, ethnicity and nationality in a move that is regularly articulated by other non-residents with whom I spoke (see also Armagnague 2012). Those people who belong to an ethnic group that is visibly non-white are the targets of everyday forms of racism that are inherited from colonialism whether or not they are French citizens (Birnbaum 2006; Deltombe et Rigouste 2006; Dorlin 2009b; Tévanian 2007; Wieviorka 1996). In a country that has made the official recognition of ethnic difference a taboo, this could be construed as perplexing (Bancel *et al.* 2010; Cesari 1994; Fassin and Fassin 2006; Mbembe 2006; Silverman 1992). On the other hand, Simon (2005) and Liauzu (2000) explain that the French collective imaginary is still very much anchored in colonial classifications that construct hierarchies based upon race (see also Brouard and Tiberj 2005; Donadey 2006). Classification systems of this sort serve to perpetuate and naturalise forms of domination and people are perpetually reminded of their ethnicity and status through the unofficial

⁷⁸ Known in France as the '*tournantes*', the 'phenomenon' is deconstructed by Hamel (2003) and Mucchielli (2005).

designation of 'French of immigrant origins' (*français d'origine immigré*) (Delphy 2008; see also Dorlin 2009a; Maillot 2008; Ribert 2006). The important point with regards to this thesis is that all the comments made by the three participants quoted above are placing ethnicity, religion, 'barbaric acts' (killing sheep in bath-tubs) within neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood is equated to these deviances from the norm and the last quote suggests that there is an unwillingness to 'integrate' by residents of Pissevin and Valdegour.

Some residents seem to see the need for increased policing as a response to these deviances (see Roché and de Maillard 2009). In chapter 4, I discussed the shift in urban policy towards the securitisation of *banlieues* that were deemed to be hard to 'assimilate' and threatening (Dikeç 2007a). The label of 'sensitive urban zone' was created and affixed to specific neighbourhoods within cities and this played no small part in promoting the vision of housing estates that need to be policed. The fact that sporadic urban unrest has occurred in these spaces undoubtedly contributes to this vision. In order to 'treat' or remedy the problems that burden Nîmes' housing estates, the prescription is often a recourse to increased policing and state surveillance of these neighbourhoods:

If the police went there more often, perhaps they wouldn't act like they own the place. The police is acting all shy.

They should do checks on the people over there but they won't dare to do it. It isn't politically correct. And they know it would create a riot but I can guarantee that illegal immigrants are all over the place in the ZUP. They can walk around without the slightest worry in the world.

The belief that there is no police in Pissevin and Valdegour and that 'honest residents' there are left to fend for themselves is common in popular representations. One respondent felt that "all those good people who have been conned into living in the ZUPs are now abandoned by law enforcement." In the quotes presented here, the police is presented as fearful of the ZUPs and incapable of effectively doing its job. The ZUPs are presented as lawless, at least insofar as they are imagined to be sites where 'illegal immigrants' can live unassailed by controls. Fassin (2011) has shown that the presence of the specially created

'*banlieue* police', the Anti-Criminality Brigade (BAC), has worsened relations between *banlieue* residents and the police force in general. The assumption that what is needed is yet more policing was nonetheless regularly expressed during interviews with non-residents. Difference, poverty, immigration and deviance are all interwoven and give legitimacy to increased securitisation of Nîmes' estates. The policing of the neighbourhood border, as we saw at the beginning of this section is of particular importance. In the next sub-section I look at the fear of contagion and at how this reproduces boundaries.

6.2.4 – The fear of contagion

If *cité* residents are perceived as intruders when they leave the confines of their housing estates and venture into the central area of Nîmes, it is in large part because the boundary-making mechanisms that operate throughout the city (and beyond) are extremely powerful. The visual nature of the estates and the increasingly negative associations that these convey are essential in creating limitations. I spoke to six people who can be described as 'direct neighbours to the estates' of Pissevin and Valdegour in that, although they are not residents of the *cités*, they live within full view of the tower-blocks (see Appendix 1). Most of those with whom I spoke expressed similar views to other Nîmes residents who do not live directly in housing estates.

My husband is always a bit worried. And we don't want to invite friends over here really. They'd be scared to come in! (*she laughs*) When you see the towers up behind the house, you feel like you're not really in France anymore... And I doubt they [Pissevin residents] feel like they are in France either.

Residents and housing estates are described as feeling 'out of France' and in our discussion the respondent explained that she felt as though this was out of a resistance to integrate into the city's fabric: "They stay together in those towers. It isn't particularly healthy." While some people who live close to Pissevin and Valdegour venture to shops that border the estates, few venture into the confines of the estates themselves. One respondent explains

that he uses the supermarket on the avenue Kennedy (Carrefour Market), that separates Valdegour and Pissevin:

The only times that I go is to pick up food from the supermarket. And maybe some days, I go to the real market. But I want nothing to do with that place. They should just knock it all down if you ask me. That's what I'd do.

'Knocking down' the estates is a common request. For the direct neighbours of the *cités*, Pissevin and Valdegour are carriers of a taint that leads to some minor level of disqualification. For instance, it is 'difficult' to invite friends or family 'who would be scared to visit'. The feelings of shame that this seems to suggest lead to a desire 'not to have anything to do with these places' and the psychological need to separate one's home from the stigmatised neighbourhoods next door. Even when the estates are out of sight, they are still present in the minds of neighbours:

I know it is there. You can't ignore it because the blocks are so huge. But in my neighbourhood, I can't see it. If you throw a stone you'd hit one of the blocks! But you can't see them thank goodness. I can drive home without ever going into one of those neighbourhoods. [...] On the other hand you know they are there. And, it is an instinctive reaction, but I'm a bit afraid of them.

This respondent speaks of 'his' neighbourhood, although the house in which he lives is only a few hundred metres from the buildings of Pissevin's eastern side. The relief that he gets not being able to perceive the estates from his home is not quite enough. Indeed, the presence of the towers and blocks is overwhelming for him and their nearby existence 'instinctively' leads him to feel fear induced by proximity with stigmatised neighbourhoods. This is in many ways a reaction of abjection whereby contact with the feared object incites revulsion as well as obsession (Kristeva 1984; see also Tyler 2013). The response from those who live in houses and flats in the immediate vicinity of Pissevin and Valdegour is essentially one of disgust at having to live within the shadows of the towering blocks:

Visually, they look catastrophic. Blocks with hanging laundry and satellite dishes everywhere. The walls of the buildings are getting dirtier and dirtier and have

you even tried walking down this street [*points to a street that links up to a main roundabout*]. It is disgusting. There is shit all over the streets: cans, plastic bags in the trees... I'm sorry but it is just disgusting.⁷⁹

The question of fear is often linked to questions of cleanliness and dirt that frequently came up in most interviews that I conducted with neighbours of the estates. During a meeting that took place between town hall officials and residents of Pissevin, the mayoral assistant in charge of "urban cleanliness" was asked by a resident about why the city wasn't investing more in street cleaning and recycling in the neighbourhoods. The mayoral assistant responded that:

We've already held meetings with people in Pissevin and Valdegour and where we try to educate people that you just shouldn't throw your rubbish out of the windows. And it really makes me laugh because you've always got those people who are enquiring about when we'll install recycling bins in the area. As though that was a top priority. I'm sorry, but clean up your act and then we'll see about recycling. We already send in garbage trucks every single day and the next day it is the same again. We don't have to do that in any other part of town.

The concentration of people living in tower-blocks as opposed to individual housing and the antiquated and limited number of bins available throughout the estates explains why regular garbage pick-ups are necessary in Nîmes' housing estates. In effect, they are also available on a daily basis in the city-centre; something that the civil servant does not mention in his rebuttal. Notwithstanding, the paternalistic attempts at 'educating' *cité* residents who are constituted as intrinsically uncivilised, he mistakenly insists on the fact that only in Pissevin does the city need to send in daily garbage trucks to pick up trash. An 'us' and 'them' opposition is made in stating that residents need to 'clean up their neighbourhood' and start acting like the 'rest of the city' (see Wodak 2008). The critiques that neighbours of the estates make are not literally to do with the collection of garbage. Indeed, they actually benefit from increased garbage pick-up. Instead they are concerned with the appearance of

⁷⁹ This particular resident has been accused by the city of building an illegal wall that was intended to separate him visually from the housing estates.

the estates, darkened as they are by the lack of renovation. They are also concerned with the streets 'lined with trash', as stated by one participant. I was given a culturalist explanation for the 'messiness' of the housing estates by one neighbour:

You've got people who moved in and who have a different culture. It is true. They moved in and they changed things but it isn't their fault really. It is cultural... So yeah, you see clothes hanging outside, men spitting and things like that.

Descriptions of mess, dirt and un-aesthetic appearance reinforce the difference with strangers whose cultures cannot be assimilated as they prevent them from acting according to the 'norm'. The most extreme way of dealing with the supposed filth of housing estates is to promote the demolition of social housing blocks. Razing the blocks to the ground (in a move that would also theoretically raise the property value of the homes of direct neighbours) was described as "an instinctive thing to do" by one respondent. This echoes a statement that was given by a senior civil servant in charge of managing funding to housing estate associations. He stated that: "If you ask me, they should have bulldozed the entire thing to the ground."

Such descriptions suggest that to prevent the pollution from undesired territories, their demolition is the most appropriate solution. These accounts fit the obsession with dirt that Mary Douglas (2002 [1966]) recorded and her development of the concept of abjection: What is pure, orderly and clean is opposed to what is dirty, impure and therefore dangerous. Butler's (1993: 243) description of abject "zones of uninhabitability which a subject fantasises as threatening its own integrity" is applicable to the portrayal of French housing estates by those who live away from them.

This section has examined the representations that residents of Nîmes who do not live in Pissevin and Valdegour articulate when they speak about housing estates in their city. It shows that territorial stigmatisation is reproduced by non-estate residents who re-articulate the negative imagery that is connected to *cités* without ever having set foot in these spaces.

Cast as marginal zones, housing estates located in Nîmes are nonetheless constituted as part of a *banlieues*-landscape and labelled according to their urban policy designation of ZUP or ZUS. Territorial stigma fixes imaginary boundaries and when these are transgressed by the residents of *cités*, it leads to unease and anxiety. Whether they live or work in the historic city-centre or in other parts of the city, non-estate residents may be suspicious when they see someone they assume to be from Pissevin or Valdegour outside these zones. Non-estate residents encourage surveillance over those from the *cités* when the latter are out of the zone to which they are ascribed. This is linked to a number of assumptions that I have covered here. These are often linked to other forms of stigma that burden people of post-colonial descent. However, the 'blemish of place' (Wacquant 2007b: 67) is pivotal in framing *cité* residents as different and threatening.

6.3 - The internalisation of the 'blemish of place' by *cité* residents

This section attempts to uncover some of the ways in which stigmatisation becomes absorbed by residents of housing estates. It enquires about the process of othering that leads some residents of stigmatised areas to resort to lateral denigration in order to better cope with the harsh conditions that territorial stigma imposes. Pierre Bourdieu (1999 [1993]: 129) asserts that the stigmatised area symbolically degrades its inhabitants. In return, these residents are described as symbolically degrading their neighbourhood. Whether they actively recognise it or whether they are not aware of their situation as 'excommunicated' (*ibid.*), residents of stigmatised areas reproduce the conditions of their dispossession. If these 'site effects' are connected to Bourdieu's larger theoretical work, it must be assumed that residents of stigmatised places come to internalise the marks of stigma. For both Bourdieu and Wacquant, the dominant-dominated relationship is constitutive of how residents of the housing estates are shaped in connection to their place of residence.

In this section, I bring to the fore some evidence for the "practices of *self-protection*" that Wacquant has identified in his own research (2008b: 116). To begin with, I look at the strategies of 'lateral denigration' and in a second sub-part, I examine the fears and anxieties

of the residents and I question the desire that residents have to leave the neighbourhood. This allows me to reposition my research as an analytic extension of Wacquant's work, most of which was conducted in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

6.3.1 – 'Us' and 'them': lateral denigration and mutual distancing

Wacquant (2008a) discusses the possibility that everyday encounters in stigmatised neighbourhoods may be *devaluing* rather than simply devalued by individuals. In order to protect themselves from the overall negative reputation of the neighbourhood in which they reside and that would otherwise taint them as individuals, some residents of *cités* rely on lateral denigration. Although it partly demonstrates a knowledge of the existence of territorial stigmatisation that is affixed to the neighbourhood, this mode of defence can be described as a strategy of self-preservation or a means of coping with territorial stigmatisation. Wacquant (2007b, 2008a, 2008b) has called these "strategies of mutual distancing", through which residents end up attributing the 'blame' for negative attention on others within the estate. The proximity of Valdegour and Pissevin, two housing estates that are similarly stigmatised, means that this strategy has also tended to involve the psychological distancing from the estate located on the other side of the avenue Kennedy.

I found that regularly estate residents would abstain from what they thought might be polluting contacts with others from the estates who were blamed for the negative reputation of the area as a whole. Notwithstanding the similarities between Valdegour and Pissevin, the separation between the estates was enforced mentally in strategies that attempted to place the responsibility for any stigmatic representations on residents from 'elsewhere'. Wacquant (2008a: 240) calls this "lateral denigration and mutual distancing". This strategy was regularly resorted to by residents when I enquired about the reputation of their neighbourhood. A resident of Pissevin comments that:

There are some differences between the two estates, that is sure. If you look at Pissevin, it feels more like a city. We have the market here. We have the library, a post office, the supermarket. We have shops and all of that. I haven't been up

there for a while, but it is also greener here, no? Me, what I see is that they kept the police up there to keep watch. It is not the same here.

The president of an association based in Pissevin makes a similar point when asked about whether the association does work for people in Valdegour:

It is a good point actually, but Valdegour is more shut in. Here we can do our work [aiding mothers] without any problems, we have people recommending us. Up there, to do your stuff, you have to get in and it is a bit of a fortress. Much more than in Pissevin, where everything is open enough. And of course, there's the night doctor who was mugged in Valdegour⁸⁰. [...] I would like to work with mothers there but it is much harder to operate.

In these declarations, Valdegour is clearly demarcated as the 'worst' of the two neighbourhoods. In a wide number of interviews, I realised that it was difficult to make people talk about the bad reputation of their own neighbourhood. In fact, the very block or building in which they themselves resided was often defended with pride. Such spaces were upheld as morally 'good' places in which "most residents" were not at all "what you can see on the TV". The construction of their neighbourhood as 'good' was at times performed by opposing it to the housing estate on the other side of the avenue Kennedy. A conversation with an mother of four is a good example of lateral denigration as a way of coping with stigma:

Look out of the window, seriously. If you were in Valdegour you'd see the youths just hanging out. Here it is clean - look! [*She insists that I come to the window by which she is standing*] Here it is clean... There are very few scribbles in the stairwells here. I have a friend in the Valdegour... She has to clean her door all the time because they write on it. Here it is clean and the youths here, they are polite. They always carry my shopping. My children, I brought them up like that too and they don't mess around.

⁸⁰ This is a reference to an emergency doctor's professional bag being stolen on the night of the 9th of May 2010 (see *Midi Libre*, 12th of May 2010).

In this quote, Valdegour is doubly othered, first as a housing estate within the *banlieue*-landscape, then as a place in which troublesome youth reside. The well behaved children - not just of this respondent, but those of the building in general - are not trouble-makers and do not commit the same acts of incivility that can be witnessed in Valdegour. In another instance, I conducted a group interview with residents of both Valdegour and Pissevin. During this encounter, discussions seemed to demonstrate the existence of further subdivisions within each estate. When one respondent mentioned that the youth in Valdegour were finding it harder to succeed in school than those from Pissevin, he was cut off by someone else:

Have you even been to the *quartier des peintres* [painter's quarter] in Pissevin? Those kids have no chance... That place is rough. It's all closed in. They have [name of association] but that's it. They are left to themselves. We don't get many from there over here. I think [the Pissevin association] is not bad. It does the same work that we do, but it is harder over there. I respect the people there you know. Keeping track of the kids is a real pain over there.

The *quartier des peintres* (named after the fact that all roads there are named after famous artists) came up in several interviews. Town hall officials had informed me about the closed-in nature of this part of Pissevin and explained that, had funds for renovation been available⁸¹, it would have been next on the list of demolition projects. It was common for residents to denigrate this part of the *cité* in ways that suggested that the negative language was indeed filtering down into the neighbourhood. I found some recognition that the *quartier des peintres* itself was a tough place to live in and that this may be the source of much of the stigmatising representations about it. Notwithstanding this, other stigmatised housing blocks became highlighted within this part of the housing estate. For reasons that are to do with the way in which estates are managed by housing organisations, newly arrived immigrants tend to be housed in specific parts of the *cités* and they are often found living together in one block or building. The vacant flats that they are granted can be found

⁸¹ See chapter 4 for an explanation of the national fund for urban renovation (ANRU) for which Nîmes applied.

in the most run down of the apartment blocks: water leakage, poor sound insulation, rot on walls and ceilings. These flats are at times vacant because previous renters have managed to find a lodging in more recent accommodation, or in renovated housing (see G. Chevalier 2005). In Nîmes, when newly arrived immigrants move into the most dilapidated of tower-blocks, they take on the symbolic charge for the stigmatisation of the entire estate. A man from the *quartier des peintres* believes that problems originate from specific areas populated by recent residents:

The Corsicans are the worst⁸². I'm telling you. No one goes there now. They boarded up the place. You can't even go down there... The police had to smash up some planks that they were using. They really don't fit in at all... They don't even try. They control the drugs here, you know that?

Notwithstanding subdivisions that clearly demonstrate the existence of stigmatisation and marginalisation that occurs within housing estates, one element was present in almost all my interviews: people were protective of the reputation of their homes. At times 'home' was the block of flats in which they reside while in others, it was the apartment that was 'good inside' although it may look 'bad outside'. In a number of cases, the neighbourhood, or a part of the neighbourhood, is felt to be pleasant and liveable. The blame for stigmatising representations is then attributed elsewhere, to other parts of the neighbourhood or the other housing estates. It is obvious that such constructions reproduce a dominant discourse and participate in stigmatising certain *banlieues*-spaces. However, it does suggest that the strategy of 'exit' that Wacquant talks of as a strategy of self-protection (Wacquant 2010)⁸³ and that entails a deep fear or dislike of one's neighbourhood, is not as strong as he seems to claim for a number of residents (see also Slater and Anderson 2012). People develop coping strategies that, although they recognise the existence of stigmatising representations, refuse to acknowledge that these apply to the part of the neighbourhood in which they live. These strategies, however apparently insignificant, were active in

⁸² The 'Corsicans' are only labelled as such by residents because they were chased out of Corsica by racist violence on the island. They are all of North African origin.

⁸³ Along with "mutual distancing and the elaboration of micro-differences", the aforementioned strategy of "lateral denigration" and the "retreat into the private sphere of the home" (p.217).

challenging the readily accepted *Nîmois* understandings of what 'normal' everyday life is and must be like.

6.3.2 - Ambivalence, fear and anxieties

Residents of Pissevin and Valdegour often express feelings that are ambivalent in relation to their neighbourhood. It is important to recognise that fear and anxiety do affect a number of residents from the *cités*. Boyer and Lochard (1998: 37) believe that popular understandings of contemporary *banlieues* are inherited from a long history of fears and anxieties that urban peripheries have signified in France. These do not stop at the 'gates' of these neighbourhoods but instead, they are thought to trickle down into the spaces of the *cités* and affect residents in a number of ways. As I have shown, at times residents resort to performing certain tactics in order to better carry the burden of stigma. If some do indeed succeed in diverting the gaze from their residential blocks onto others, there are those *cité* dwellers for whom the emotional cost of living in stigmatised area is too hard to bear.

They say that all this should have been knocked down ages ago. I don't want my children being crushed by falling bits of concrete. It is sufficiently bad inside. But when you look at it from outside... Ah... It isn't pretty is it!

This respondent made frequent references to what the news had said about the buildings in and around the Paris *banlieues* and compared those to her own. In relation to the architecture of her neighbourhood, she points out that it is "like a fortress that keeps us in" and the structures produce in her the anxiety that something terrible might happen because of the buildings themselves. These anxieties and fears lead some residents of Pissevin and Valdegour to try to leave the neighbourhoods. They can apply via housing associations and through the complex system of the low rent housing allocation:

My mother still lives in Valdegour and whenever I go to see her, she points out how lucky I am. My brothers and I worked hard to get her some better accommodation so now she is in one of the new flats. But she still wants to leave

the place entirely. It is a bit sad really. She says that with us gone, she feels even more scared.

Fear and insecurity is of great concern for a certain part of the population in Valdegour and Pissevin. The above quote could well be illustrative of one woman's fear at the thought of being left alone, with her children having moved away. It is also possible that the respondent feels some guilt at having left her mother within the stigmatised *banlieue* landscape that she has felt threatened enough by to leave. Notwithstanding, security and fear are common features of some *cité* residents' lives. In conversations that I had with two of the women who are responsible for the 'Nîmes-Ouest' neighbourhood association, I discussed what they thought the committee should be striving to achieve. In all our discussions, the focus was on security. The fear that the neighbourhood generates to outsiders was well and truly incorporated by these two residents. Upon meeting me for the first time, one of the women asked what the aim of my research was. When I had explained what I was hoping to do, she kindly said that I should re-orient the research to other issues and said that I might find it more fruitful to focus on the lack of security that residents are granted by the city authorities. Debates in the committee meetings revolve around the issue of security and the anxieties of walking through the estate for the elderly. A respondent that I interviewed in the early stages of my research said that:

I used to spend much more time outside. And you might just say it is old age. I don't walk about like I did twenty years ago, I know that. But I'm scared too. Really, I think we're all scared. I don't do much leaving the flat these days.

This resident's fear is linked to TV footage, but she also remembers old articles of the *Midi Libre* that signalled to her that "things were changing in the area". I was told by a social worker and by her daughter that this elderly woman rarely leaves the flat. They bring her food and keep her company every few days and the only time they can get her out of the flat is on market days. The rest of the time, the respondent describes feelings that express her sense of being "out of place" in the housing estate, outside her own apartment. The aforementioned social worker asserted that she is not alone in this uncomfortable position.

People like this woman moved to Pissevin or Valdegour in the early to mid-1960s and have seen the neighbourhood change. Everything from the physical build, the employment levels, the ethnic make-up and access to shopping facilities has evolved over half a century. These changes and the loss of social status for residents that have accompanied them have been said to lead to racism in the long-run 'Franco-French' residents (Moulin 2001: 142-147)⁸⁴. In the case of the previous respondent, this was not case. Rather, it was the neighbourhood's reputation that led to her worries, not the nature of its ethnic make-up. This type of fear is similarly generated in recent immigrants to the neighbourhoods. The president of an organisation that works closely with families in Pissevin and Valdegour encountered a large number of cases where neighbourhood reputation was an issue:

Some of these women [that the association works with], they are terrified of the neighbourhood when they arrived. They'll be screaming and shouting at their children if they don't come back straight from school because they've been told about crime and gangs and drugs. Even if they don't speak French. The thing is someone tells them about how bad it is, they come here and they immediately add locks to the door and never leave their homes.

Territorial stigmatisation influences both non-residents and residents of places that suffer from it. People in the latter category, may feel the consequences of stigmatisation without necessarily believing that the negative representations have any validity. Territorial stigma in the French *cités* works by depicting a world that is cut in two: on the one hand, the 'hoodlums', the 'angry youth', the 'welfare cheats'; on the other, the victims who include long-term residents of housing estates, parents of 'untameable' youth, women and the elderly. The stigmatic language portrays the first feeding off the second. It is no wonder that the latter groups are more likely to feel the effects and anxieties caused by negative representations of the place in which they live, living it as a "reserve of terror, an evil trap" (Marconot 1994: 36). However, notwithstanding the common sense association between certain neighbourhoods and fear, it is important to state that fear is experienced in all parts

⁸⁴ See chapter 1 of this thesis for a reference to the commonly used notion of *franco-français* by one respondent.

of the urban environment and that it affects people differently depending on gender, race and age (Pain 2001).

6.4 - Stigmatising discourses from inside and outside housing estates

This short section dedicates itself to examining two of the 'moral panics' of the time that have contributed to reinforce the stigmatisation in place over housing estates. In a first instance, I look at the constitution of the *banlieue* youth as a media category and label. I examine the weight that this image has in the city of Nîmes as a whole. In a second part, I look at the ways in which Islam has been socially constructed as a threat *locally*, within the *banlieues*. It is understood that global events have given new powers to the discourses that present Islam as dangerous and these have undoubtedly filtered into local understandings of Muslims and Islam as a whole. On top of this, France's peculiar relationship with Islam leads to regular debates. For instance, debates about the (il)legality of the headscarf in schools have been raging since the mid 1980s. More recently, the full face covering *niqab* was banned in public places and some have begun to ask whether Islam can 'be French' (Bowen 2010; see also Bowen 2007). Locating Islam in the *banlieues* contributes to the links between these spaces and the feeling that they are deviant (see Kepel 1991).

6.4.1 - Delinquency and the myth of the '*banlieue* youth'

The experience of being a 'youth from the *banlieue*' has been said to revolve around the *galère*⁸⁵. This is organised according to three factors according to François Dubet "disorganisation, exclusion and rage" (1987: 96). Bertucci and Houdart-Mérot (2005: 16) state that rage explodes regularly without any clear objectives and this has a tendency to associate the youths with violence and insecurity in a durable way (Dubet 1987; Lagrange and Oberti 2006). Bertucci and Houdart-Mérot (2005) add that the frustration of not having

⁸⁵ The word *galère* literally means 'galley' and refers to the punishment of being sent away for criminals. Today, the word has been made into the intransitive verb '*galérer*', which loosely means to be in a hard or precarious situation.

the means to participate fully in consumer society. This, they say, is demonstrated through 'incivility' and various acts of juvenile 'delinquency' that are perpetuated daily by residents of stigmatised places. 'Social promotion' (*la promotion sociale*) is advertised throughout France from early childhood - in school for example - yet it seems out of reach for a whole part of the population that finds itself living in housing estates. What is more, whether they identify with it or not, these residents are well aware of the reputation of their place of residence and of the description that is made of them as 'trapped' and 'living in situations of relegation'.

Although unemployment is rising dramatically throughout France because of the current economic crisis, the perception that *banlieue* youths are doing nothing to remedy their situation is commonly spread. The supposed laziness and lack of effort of young people was at times associated with non-civic ways of spending time. A shop manager told me that:

Sometimes there are really bad problems. The ones from Mas-de-Mingue, they come over and they try to provoke the ones from another part of town and then they have these enormous fights. I'm sure you've heard of those fights right? It is just like in Paris sometimes. It costs us [tax payers] enormous amounts... People say to go easy on their parents but it is easy to say. The parents have given up I think... And their kids are totally uneducated and incapable of living in society.

This account exhibits the language of the victim. The shop manager explains that she is apparently having to pay for the deviant actions of a number of youth. Earlier on in the chapter, I presented a quote from the same shopkeeper who explained that these *cité* youth could not behave properly in central urban society and she was highly suspicious of them. They had, she claimed, a tendency to 'hit and grab' for valuable equipment such as a mobile phones, a testament to an almost inherent lack of civility that has been spatially produced in housing estates and through parental abandonment. The focus on actions that are 'uncivilised' is a regular discursive practice that allows to differentiate the 'us' from the 'them' and housing estate youth are made into the ultimate Others. A woman who lives in Nîmes' central area but has worked as a cleaning lady in public sector buildings in a ZUP

displays a language that presents *cité* youths as not only violent and lazy. Her language would be applicable to any *cité* in France:

I know there are some good ones in the lot. Of course. Some people were very nice and let me sit on the bus, that kind of thing. But you've got all these groups of youths who just sit around doing nothing. Well! They do nothing during the day. Because during the night, it is another story. Every time I'd go there, I'd walk by the canal and there would be burnt mopeds, bicycles that had certainly been [*she whistles to indicate theft*]. Sometimes, I'd see burnt cars there. There would be broken things, graffiti... Which is a pity.

Differentiating between those that are civilised, law-abiding and respectful allows for further classifications that reproduce an ultimate 'other'. In everyday conversations, housing estates are perpetually reassigned to their role as the 'other' and a source of instability, criminality and deviance, particularly as pertains to the younger generations that live there:

I think it is pretty obvious why [there were no riots in November 2005], if you want me to be honest. Pissevin is a hotbed of car parts sales. The police knows it, the town hall knows it... Everyone knows it. So what happened? Why didn't the kids cause havoc? Well, because there are other forms of social control in operation there. It is pretty obvious!

The lack of a criminal activity (i.e. rioting) can only be explained via a recourse to a language of criminality. The youths remained calm only insofar as they were under control and kept under close watch by an apparently organised criminal gang. For some residents, the threat of delinquency and the fact that acts of petty criminality do take place in Pissevin and Valdegour are, we have seen, a source of panic. Those who claim not to feel fear nonetheless resort to a language that recognises the reality of crime in the neighbourhoods. An aid to the town hall who lives in Pissevin and operates from there in order to help people with administrative issues says:

Me, I went off and I did some studies and found a job. I got off lucky to be honest. Most of the kids there now they just want to **** up the place which is just absurd. Anyway, all those guys you see hanging out have no future apart from the prison.

The resignation to the apparent 'lack of a future' for the neighbourhood is palpable. For a social worker whose office is located within Pissevin the language of resignation is also evident:

If it wasn't for the kids and their petty crime, life here would be tolerable. But all I see are distressed mothers. And they are distressed because the kids won't fall in line. They see the bleak future that those children that they raised are preparing for themselves and they fall into tears. It is equally depressing for me, I can tell you that."

In all these accounts it looks as though there is no way out of delinquency. Delinquency is recognised as a neighbourhood effect of living in housing estates that is difficult to tackle. One senior civil servant explained that for him, "the focus needs to be on the youngest generations now, those who are three, four or five because unfortunately, anything older than that, and we're talking about a lost generation." The '*jeune de banlieue*' (suburban youth) is a lasting image that has been reinforced via media language as well as the ever present threat of 'them' invading the rest of the city. Until quite recently, this type of construction operated on the local scale for Pissevin and Valdegour specifically. However, on 10 October 2010, a television documentary about the estates was shown on national television⁸⁶. The two hours of footage showed a number of violent arrests, explained the supposed drug trafficking systems in place and filmed residents describing their fears of the neighbourhood. As with the footage that took place after the 2005 urban unrest on news channels, the only voices that were heard were those of a specific 'victim-group' that only succeeded in blurring the boundaries between fantasy and reality (Mucchielli 2006). Stigma was thus amplified by specialists in cultural production (Bourdieu 1994).

⁸⁶ "Flics sous haute-pression et délinquants prêts à tout" (TF1 Production, 10/10/2010). See chapter 5.

6.4.2 – Territorial stigmatisation and 'the *cités* of Islam'

In France, housing estates that have in part become the places of residence for a number of people of North African descent have become strongly discursively interlinked with Islam. Kepel (1991) even associates the *banlieues* with the birth of Islam in France. Ahmed Boubeker (2008) traces the politicisation of the *banlieues* from one that was essentially based on the cultural inheritance of being 'North African' to the use of Islam as a tool for increasing visibility in the public sphere. This argument is also deployed by Laurence and Vaisse (2006: 165-166) who claim that in some of the cases, the desire to shock stems essentially from a lack of identification with the 'Franco-French' norm that is imposed from above. Islam arouses suspicion (Bozzo 2005) and creates fears that are partly linked to international events that then trickled down into the local arena. These are partly the consequences of strong assimilationist policies such as the headscarf ban that was approved on the 3rd of March 2004 (Bowen 2008; Laurence and Vaisse 2006: 163).

These analyses are not shared on the ground, and residents and non-residents of Nîmes estates all referred to Islam as problem that has implications for fighting stigmatisation:

It sticks to their skin, that is for sure. I've been living here all my life and I've seen it spread and get more and more powerful. The beards grew. The veils got bigger and bigger and now you see loads of them with the *burqa* [sic] wandering around.

I'm a Muslim of course. I speak Arabic. I just don't want the neighbourhood to stand out because of these women who put on the *niqab*. There is a real problem with Islam here.

The language of residents was often apologetic when referring to Islam, as though there was something fundamentally embarrassing for the neighbourhood about some residents displaying strong affiliations with Islam. Two participants discussed the reputation of the neighbourhood and their fear that Islam projects negative representations beyond the *cités*:

I often feel sorry that some of the young girls get too crazy. I wear a headscarf but not like some of the girls around here... Islam is so powerful here I think that they feel the obligation. How can people ever like Pissevin and Valdegour if they feel they are in Muslim lands?

The language schools that supposedly teach you Arabic: they are recruitment centres. I think we all know that. I'm religious, of course! But when you see people who don't respect our form of worshipping and who impose their own laws, I feel a bit disgraced

Islam is perceived as a burden to bear, even by those who are practicing, fervent Muslims. The Islam of the younger generation *cité* residents is more radical in appearance than that of the first generation immigrants. However, it is vital to insist on the fact that whether or not they are of Muslim heritage, not all *cités* youths are *practicing* Muslims (Geisser 2003; Shirali 2007). Nonetheless, it is the focus on Islam in *banlieues* and housing estates that is perpetually rearticulated by the non-residents of Pissevin and Valdegour with whom I spoke.

[T]o imagine those poor girls being forced by their brothers and fathers to wear all these veils. It is the way things are there! [...] No-one would want to wear something like that if it wasn't forced. And as long as these men operate like that, the neighbourhood will have to stay separate! No-one will want anything to do with it.

The housing estates are imagined as predominantly Muslim (and patriarchal) and for this respondent, the neighbourhoods will be forced to remain disconnected ('they will have to stay separate') as long as certain norms are not respected. This statement hides feelings of Islamophobia behind a concern for women's right to not wear Muslim head-dress. In another interview, a non-Muslim resident of Pissevin says that he finds it frustrating that he can no longer go and buy his "bottle of red" and his "*saucisson*", a dried pork sausage, in the neighbourhood. He agrees that the supermarket allows for him to get what he needs but adds that he regrets the days when the butcher "was not *Halal*" and where "all residents

were represented in the small shops of the gallery, not just the Muslims." In an intriguing turn of phrase, another respondent suggests that the *cités* are, in effect, being closed off by the presence of Islam that is being used as an internal mode of religious governance in those areas:

Islam is used as way of keeping us out. As a way for them to say to us 'This is our place and we'll have our rules'. [...] It is really frustrating to imagine the bearded (*les barbus*) guiding all these neighbourhoods away from what we once had to learn about the Republic, about equality, et cetera, et cetera. They use the fact that the areas are no-go zones to make their own little Mecca [sic].

Links to the stigmatising imagery of the ghetto are apparent in this quote. This type of assertion brings back the argument of the 'lost territories of the Republic' that Emmanuel Brenner (2002) first articulated, claiming that separate laws, separate codes were being developed in places that were now run by Islam and which, as such, would never integrate themselves properly into the French values. The *cités* are associated with the evils of delinquency and they are linked to an increase in Islamic practice that itself is in the midst of international vilification.

6.5 - Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ways in which territorial stigmatisation is produced through the re-articulation of discourses of disgust and threat by non-residents of housing estates. It also discusses the internalisation of the stigmatising representations by residents. The fears and anxieties of those who live outside France's housing estates are often replicated within those very spaces. The everyday tales that construct the *cités* as threatening spaces are pervasive and they can make their way into the narratives that residents develop relating to their neighbourhood.

I have shown that those who perceive the neighbourhoods from outwith often do so through lenses that are tainted by the negative representations from which housing estates

suffer. Nîmes residents who do not live in housing estates oppose their own neighbourhoods and places of residence to the chaos of urban policy neighbourhoods. The fear that these places and their residents might spill out into the 'normal' space consolidates and reproduces the boundary making mechanisms that enforce territorial stigma. The profound emotional discomfort that French *cités* inspire in the minds of those who paradoxically have never set foot within them leads to destructive desires and legitimates discourses of 'rehabilitation'. In fact, these people promote the physical removal of visual reminders of stigmatised places that are constituted as 'mistakes'. Meanwhile, the discourses that allow for increased securitisation of Pissevin and Valdegour have trickled down into these neighbourhoods, leading some residents to develop tactics in order to cope with the insidious stigma. Some withdraw into the private space of the home while others point fingers and attribute the blame for the negative image of the neighbourhood on particular groups of residents or whole other neighbourhoods.

Chapter 7 - Responding to territorial stigmatisation and challenging negative representations of place

I couldn't be more angry than when I see my child go to school in an underfunded place, when I see that it takes six months for the town to repair the stuff that makes this city dangerous for the kids. What we have to do - and this is going to take some time, we have to be lucid... What we have to do, is work with the next generation and give them hope. We need to make sure that they have a voice and that they understand the power of that voice.

(Resident of Valdegour and volunteer in an after-school association)

7.1 - Introduction

Two important and interrelated points are discussed in this chapter. The first deals with the idea of care and concern for housing estate neighbourhoods and their residents. Such motivations are targeted at alleviating some of the material and symbolic consequences of the 'blemish of place'. Pissevin and Valdegour have over forty neighbourhood associations operating over the two *cités*. They are all registered as non-profit, a legal obligation in France. Although there are salaried employees in a number of these associations, the majority of people involved are volunteers, known in France as '*bénévoles*'. The majority of the associations are what might be called 'career making', as they attempt to better the school results of the younger generations or find employment for those who have made their way out of the schooling system or into unemployment. Others attempt to produce conviviality and community feelings that are thought to be lost in housing estates⁸⁷.

Most of the associations are funded through a number of government bodies depending on each association's goals. However, urban policy departments are increasingly involved in

⁸⁷ There are also religious associations operating in these neighbourhoods but I was unable to enter into contact with them.

deciding which associations should be the recipients of subsidies (Laville and Sainseaulieu 1997; Tchernogog 2007). This has led to a number of questions relating to the ways in which associations and care-provision is associated to control. The first part of this chapter is thus an elaboration of data obtained from twenty-five in-depth interviews with people who are involved in associations and four further interviews that were conducted with social workers. The links that a number of these participants establish between what they perceive to be an uncaring state and housing estates is discussed, as is the resistance of social workers to what they understand to be a burdensome bureaucracy operating in housing estates (see also Curie 2010; Rouzel and Rouzel 2009).

The second important point that this chapter addresses has to do with the ways in which territorial stigmatisation is 'resisted' from within housing estates. I address the grassroots attempts at channelling and challenging stigma through both the establishment of neighbourhood committees intended to address the demands of residents, and through the establishment of a local newspaper whose aim has been to re-represent the housing estates. I then look at less explicit ways of resisting stigmatisation. The elaboration of a number of festivals both reinforce neighbourhood ties and play on the multicultural nature of the *cités* (see Stuart Hall [1996: 292] for an appraisal of the carnival as a reversal of the 'accepted order'). Another routine form of resistance consists in some residents' denial of the existence of stigma, or in the denial that the stigmatised aspects of the neighbourhood are in fact discrediting. Finally, the appropriation of the neighbourhood is both explored in two ways. Firstly, from the point of view of those who genuinely feel a profound attachment to their place of residence. Secondly, through the many tactical ways in which some residents enable the appropriation of streets, walls, public places as well as the descriptive language used by urban policy with regards to their neighbourhood (ie. 'the ZUP'). The theoretical problems associated with the idea of resistance have been addressed in the literature review of this thesis. I have also explained that I am interested in resistive acts and practices that are not necessarily confrontational or oppositional. As such, in much of this thesis, I have referred to the idea of 'coping with stigma' instead of using the problematic notion of resistance. In this chapter I will refer to resistance when I believe that respondents' actions,

understandings or beliefs are more than merely 'ways of coping', even as these may in fact lead to little or no real change in the existence of stigmatising labels.

7.2 - Organisational and associational responses to territorial stigmatisation

7.2.1 - Conceptual and theoretical understandings of geographies of care

The question of care and of concern for 'others', whomever these may be, is one that has long been examined by geographers in a variety of settings (Conradson 2003a, 2003b; Gleeson and Kearns 2001; Lawson 2007; Parr 2003; Parr and Philo 2003; Popke 2006; Staeheli 2003; Staeheli and Brown 2003). In the context of French housing estates, volunteers and professionals involved in associations are working in a context of the withdrawal of the what Bourdieu (1998) has referred to as the 'left hand of the state'. This refers to education, social security, social housing and public health-care. As I have already stated, associations are essentially funded by the state. They are cheaper to operate than social centres, social workers and the investment in intensive school renovations (see Curie 2010 for details). This leads to a central question about whether professionals and volunteers are providing caring acts that improve living conditions or whether they inadvertently participate in the production of stigma and the further retrenchment of the state (Mohan 2002).

State welfare, conservatives argue, leads to situations of dependency rather than truly enabling those who benefit from it (see Fraser and Gordon [1994] for an analysis). Following from this, some have argued that the presence of organisations that provide care and assistance to those residing in the *banlieues*, whether through the arms of the state or those of non-state associations, lead to a continuation of dependency. The notion, in French, is known as *l'assistanat* and it has sparked many debates among the political class with marked differences between the left and the right (Purière 2009). Associations and community organisations in housing estates operate spatially in areas of state welfare receiving populations and they can at times assist those who do not receive their full state benefits to do so. Welfare beneficiaries are constructed as '*assistés*' (assisted populations) and critiques

are rampant at every major election with promises from candidates to limit the amounts that are being received by *banlieues* populations in order to enable a 'sense of responsibility' to the residents (Appleton 2005; *Le Point* 2007).

The belief that residents of *banlieue* spaces are irresponsible both stems from and partly replicates stigmatisation through some of the demands set by associations. For instance, an association that works to help children with homework after school partly replicates the language of 'responsibility' aimed towards parents. The association, based in an ex-ground floor apartment in Valdegour, asks that parents sign into the association, becoming members before their children can attend the evening tutoring sessions. They are thus kept informed about the successes and failures of their children and they are expected to get involved with school work on a daily basis. One can understand this charge in two ways. The first relates to giving parents a part to play in a process that inscribes them within the fabric of the association as they become its members ("you are part of this with us and we need this for the association as a whole to function"). The second appears to make parents accountable for their children's results, absences or potential wrongdoings ("you have signed the form, now observe your parental duties and follow up on your child"). In the second understanding of the moral contract, parents become accountable for the actions of their children, at least within the association's premises⁸⁸. Both understandings ultimately enforce elements of control and replicate the belief in 'idle parents' that was discussed in the preceding chapter. What is more, this contrasts dramatically with Gilles Deleuze's belief that social welfare and societal forms of care should never be impregnated by forms of policing (2005 [1977]).

In their analysis of service providers for the homeless in Britain, Cloke, May and Johnsen (2010) note that there is a strong tendency within the field of geography to regard the city as increasingly defined according to a punitive and postjustice framework imbued by a neoliberal logic that promotes the commoditisation and revaluation of some urban areas (e.g. N. Smith 1993; Wolch and Dear 1993). Within this understanding that the authors refer

⁸⁸ See Donzelot (2005 [1977]) for an account of 'policing' family life in France, and in the *banlieues* in particular.

to as the "revanchist orthodoxy" (p.7), volunteers who operate alongside professionals in the provision of services for the homeless, can be perceived as working in collusion with neoliberal governance and helping to secure the regulation and purification of place see (Larner and Craig 2005; D. Mitchell 1997). Clearly control has always been an central aspect of welfare policy (see D. Harvey 1974; Piven and Cloward 1993; Ticktin 2011) and the existence of associations in disinvested areas not only signals the retreat of the state but also might have the potential of exacerbating this retreat. Notwithstanding, Cloke *et al.*'s study develops a parallel framework to that of the 'revanchist orthodoxy' in which service provision can be perceived as the extension of a geography of care that does not *only* participate in the further surveillance of the dispossessed. They note that to the revanchist and postjustice conceptualisations of the city in the Western world ignores and disempowers "the extraordinary acts of generosity and care being exercised by staff, volunteers and charitable donors who ensure a network of non-statutory services" (Cloke *et al.*: 2010: 209).

7.2.2 - Poverty and the uncaring state

Social workers in Pissevin's *centre social* and Valdegour's *Centre Social, Culturel et Sportif*⁸⁹ come face to face with the everyday difficulties of *cit * residents. The act of helping the less fortunate is both a source of immense pride and the source of intense resignation that seems overwhelming at times. Much as with volunteers, social workers displayed an understanding for the desires of urban policy initiatives and of the fact that they at times impact negatively on the everyday lives of residents in Pissevin and Valdegour. They demonstrated an acute knowledge of the politicised nature of social work and were keenly aware that a number of the policies that had recently been pushed through were the results of neoliberal considerations that ultimately increasingly demanded results, even in the field of social work. The increased need to publish results, relating to child support, employment is one that does not take into account the everyday lives of residents, but instead tries to

⁸⁹ The latter was designed by renowned architects, Tautem Architecture, and counts as an attempt by the town at bringing in an outside population to the housing estate.

make social workers more concerned for 'output' (Borgetto and Chauvière 2008; Chauvière 2010; Curie 2010).

[My job] is daily exposure to the pains and humiliations of these people but it is also putting yourself in a position where you are the butt of their anger. We make do with whatever means we have. And what we have is generally pretty shitty to be honest... Not many people do this for long. I don't know how long I can last here.

There is frustration bound up within the daily practices that social workers conduct inside stigmatised housing estates all over France. The difficulties are imposed through a complex bureaucratic system that blocks a number of possibilities for social workers to conduct their work quickly and efficiently. The burden of territorial stigma, the previous social worker explains, has an impact on how well regarded people who work in housing estates will be. Wacquant (2011) explains that working in tainted housing estates also has effects on people's long term job opportunities. The respondent describes social work in the so-called *banlieues* as one of the "shittiest jobs in the social work arena".

[W]e were once told: 'these are the local representatives, this is the mayor's office, this is that, thingy, thingy and thingy', right? These would be the budgetary sources on which we'd rely for funding help and stuff like that. Now, it's them going, 'This isn't my concern, speak to another office'. We can't truly care for people if we follow the way things are going. It just won't be possible and, to be quite honest, you end up asking if you're even necessary [*laughs*]! I feel like I'm paid to say 'no' to people or to push them to do things that they're not inclined to do. We're not supposed to care, we're just supposed to push them through the layers and report back saying we've followed the rules... the... the... You know, we just do form filling basically now.

Social workers with whom I spoke believe their work is required by the tensions and contradictions in the daily lives of French citizens. They point to the gaping holes that have

accompanied policies that are intent on focussing attention on cost, efficiency and measurable benefits. Thus, the work of social workers in French housing estates is now bound up with the idea of 'making-do'. The hope that they will find crevices and interstices in the bureaucracy in order to make the daily routines of people less difficult was a concern in many cases: "We work with perpetual lack (*le manque perpétuel*). Everywhere we look, everything we try to provide, it all begins with a lack." As with a number of actors that loosely operate under state finances, social workers have to attend regular meetings where they are explained the operational scope of their activities. Another social worker explains this: "Who gives what and when, who we need to prioritise, what should we try to cut down on, insist on certain things like individual responsibility. Things like that. That's what we're told to do now."

The impossibility of providing people with what they want is something that social workers learn to deal with, notwithstanding the disappointments that this produces for them and for those who come to visit them. This, the social workers that I engaged with, all know too well. Nonetheless they are acutely able when it comes to manoeuvring through the bureaucracy that tends to restrict their abilities. The aforementioned social worker explains:

We always learn how to go about things differently. It takes more time and I think it is important for us to make sure we can provide the best help possible. So that means that we exchange ideas about how to get this or this budget to open up for specific things. I certainly don't see my job as being in charge of making choices of who should get what first and who comes second, third, fourth and who gets nothing.

Social workers must develop tactics on in order to keep doing on a daily basis what they believe their work contracts define them to be doing. This involves manipulating the lingo, exchanging tips that challenge the constricting budgetary demands that are imposed via neo-liberal policies or explicitly disobeying. They refuse the demands that would have them increasingly doing the work of judges over distribution and agents of control. They challenge the changing demands that come 'from above' and recognize the daily issues that residents

of French housing estates face. They also challenge the cuts on budgets that would have these people 'made responsible' for the situation in which they find themselves.

People who are engaged in associations generally express less feelings of frustration and some tangible enthusiasm for the projects in which they are involved. Two volunteers working in the estates even described themselves as being 'on a mission'. In the majority of cases, those involved in the associations were strongly politicised towards the left and strongly critical of what they perceive to be a retreat of the government's commitment to the *banlieues*. They are also critical of the mayor's lack of presence in the *cités* of Nîmes. One volunteer says:

The only time he shows his face is when there is something horrible happening. He came here for the election, boasting about what he'd do after [the last mayor]. Then [*whistling sounds*]... There's no-one anymore! You want to see him in Pissevin? Well, wait for a tragedy and he might come around. I think he's just scared of the reception that people here would give him. It would feel just like Sarko[zy] stirring up shit by strolling about and looking supposedly concerned for the well-being of the residents but from a good distance, right! And only some of the residents of course! Keep your distances from the ZUP but use it when you need it. That's what the politicians are doing.

On the 1st of January 2010, a family was killed during a fire that took place in the Les Ménestrels tower, in Valdegour, and this prompted the mayor and his advisors to come to the housing estate for a visit and a to observe a minute's silence. The volunteer explains that:

Other than that, we really don't see much of the elected people around here. There aren't that many serious voters if you know what I mean and it looks bad to come here. It just reveals that he hasn't done anything for neighbourhood [*laughs*].

The respondent clearly demonstrates her knowledge of the consequences of territorial stigmatisation for residents. She believes that they are not taken seriously by those in municipal power because of their suggested lack of political participation during elections. She also says something of interest about the taint of the neighbourhood, signifying that for elected officials to appear in the *cités* makes them look 'bad'. During the rest of the interview, she explained that this was because seeing the mayor in Valdegour or Pissevin reminded people that very little was being done in those neighbourhoods apart from what she describes as "cosmetic changes". Opposing themselves to the general lack of concern for housing estates, volunteers often explain that they feel sorry for these areas, some sense of pity or a feeling of obligation and duty. The following three quotes are illustrative of this:

I don't suppose I'd care much if I had been brought up in opulence myself, but me, I grew up in working class neighbourhoods, and I think it is my duty to bring some hope to the people there.

It never occurred to me that I'd need to justify exactly why I do what I do. I'm part of Greenpeace, I write letters for Amnesty. So when you have a social conscience... even small, then you get off your back side when you see people living in misery so close by, in those sordid buildings. It is a minimum if you want to stop the spread of this misery, I think.

My mother was a social worker, my sister works with homeless people in the North, so I think I've always been exposed to people who go out and help and all that. It is just something I feel I have to do.

The hired assistant to an association in Pissevin strongly believed that he was doing what 'the government' should be doing and angrily explained that:

I'm telling you that the more we do, the less you see of the money. They tell you it's all been spent. This is absolute nonsense! They stopped funding one or two associations in the area because they don't do anything that is considered to be of value. I mean, if you provide meals to the kids, you're not producing anything

right? But you make them happy... They eat together, they get to know each other and sure, I scold them if they don't behave. But I've been told that that isn't productive... Not like theatre.

Upon my asking which exact branch or sector of the government he was referring to, he replied that he did not know exactly. However, he became very agitated and continued:

I don't have a clue! I'm not up there writing the laws or telling people what they should be doing. I don't know how it works... [...] We all learn the same as the other kids in the rest of Nîmes right? So what do we learn? That the schools take you there [*he makes a hand gesture whereby his hand is flat in line with his eye level*] and if you're lucky to get the Bac [school leaving examination] you go to there [*the hand is moved up to above his head*]. But who gets the Bac here? The government says it provides but it doesn't provide here. It provides nothing. Because it fails right from the start, when the kids get to experience the world outside the family. It just assumes it can't save them and it retreats. And guess who is here to pick up the pieces? [...] The most stinking thing about this, it is that if we didn't get in and try to help these kids, we'd have *real* ghettos here! I mean, like, like the Americans. No kidding there...

Here the language of moral panic is articulated to attract attention. The interviewee in this case sees himself operating where the 'left hand of the state' should have been. This vision is no different from the non-residents involved in associations who also see their positions in the *banlieues* as dealing with important gaps that have been left open by gradual disinvestment. In a conversation with a regular volunteer at the after school teaching association in Valdegour, the discussion was focussed on what the holes were that the state had left open.

It really depends what you mean when you say 'the state' I suppose. You have absolutely wonderful teachers in Diderot [the local *collège*, the intermediate school before high-school, located in Valdegour] and I'm sure it is the same in the

professional *lycée* [high-school] in Pissevin. You've got great staff but I think their feeling is that everything is under-funded. So they'll build some new school⁹⁰ and then what? Will it just end up being the same empty skeleton that you have elsewhere? The books are old, no funding... For sure, it isn't the fault of the teachers.

Another resident and volunteer in the same association explains that she has a problem with the amount of associations in place throughout the neighbourhood:

If we were not working with the kids, then perhaps... You know, perhaps there'd be a bigger number of failures and kids who'd leave school way too early. We don't save a lot but we save a few. And that's the problem here, that if you're from here and you don't have the Bac or a professional Bac [school leaving examination with professional traineeship] you've killed your chances to make anything of yourself. So, we're here to ensure that they don't all end up on the dole or peddling *shit* [colloquial word for hash]. OK? So then I'm always asking myself, does the state not see that there are all these defeated young people here. The kids are young and stupid... They are teenagers. They don't realise. But the state! I mean, come on... The guys there know we're desperately trying to cover their lack of investment. I'm always asking myself, in a place where you see so many associations, you have to know that there is a problem that they are trying to solve right? So instead of funding these forty, or whatever it is, associations - the quantity doesn't matter - but instead of trying to fund us... why not inject more cash in the neighbourhood directly. Spend the money directly.

Although a resident herself, she perceives the differences that her actions make on the neighbourhood. She nonetheless believes that there is a tendency for associations to work against each other in order to obtain limited funding. In echo to this, a resident of Pissevin who is also president of an association in the estate sees the mission of the associations as being thwarted by a competition to get the means of running on a day to day basis.

⁹⁰ The completion of this project is planned for Summer 2012.

The problem is we end up losing the focus. Our mission is one of public service! We are doing this for the public right? It is so easy to lose sight of this when they start to put cuts in place. We end up fighting here and there for the means to run and that means wasted time. And in the meantime, you can ask the people who fund you for advice and stuff. 'We trust you, we trust you, go ahead'. That's the response we get until... well, maybe the next year they're not interested. But we don't really get the input so that's why I try to make the association as visible as possible.

As a solution to this problem, and in order to keep the focus on changing the neighbourhoods' image, "a priority whatever happens and whatever the association", the respondent has organised a collective of nearly forty associations that regularly stage events in Pissevin's public spaces (they include associations from neighbouring Valdegour). As such, theatre performances, musical performances or stalls with information are installed in the main squares of the housing estate and members of the press are invited to attend with the hope that more positive reports will emanate from their columns. The respondent hopes that these attempts at making the work of associations visible will increase the encouragement that they receive from the funding bodies. His anxiety is linked to the progressive withdrawal of state presence from the neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour, but it is also linked to recent events. In 2009, an association that claimed to give young people access to workshops in graffiti art or hip-hop music was shut down for misuse of funds. In the local associational world, this has led to severe criticisms and to the fear that this would lead to furthering a desire for public funds to be spent efficiently. The president of the association and resident of Pissevin relates his feelings about the incident:

The general feeling here is that the guys are from [the closed association] are not really guilty of anything. They had no idea how to work the money, how to write all the reports and stuff - who to be in contact with for example. I think, you know, you get these young guys thinking: 'we could do with a space of our own

to sing and stuff'. They get the cash, they buy a sound system and then the whole association collapses.

PK: Do you have an explanation as to why they get the funds in the first place? Is buying a sound-system perceived as worthwhile?

No. Although you'll have a lot of people saying the same thing. It could well be that the main goal is to keep the kids off the street: 'We'll get them a sound-system and get them a place to practice their rap. Then they won't be out burning cars'. Some of the funding is clearly out there to keep a watchful eye on the young people here in the neighbourhood.

For those residents whose professional lives have become intertwined with what they regard as social work, anything that threatens the everyday operation of their associations is source of anxiety. Those who involve themselves voluntarily in changing what they perceive to be a tainted urban landscape find it hard to measure their actions against the lack of financial help that is provided by the state and they conceive of themselves as filling the gaping holes left open by state inaction. The mutual disciplining of associations becomes inevitable because of limited funding and competition between these organisations becomes an offshoot of this tendency. The concern is not in what the associations are attempting to achieve but in how they appear in the local media and in the town hall. Ultimately, the problem relates to the influence of territorial stigmatisation on association funding. The example of the one association that was perceived to mismanage funds in 2009 has been wielded as a reason why urban policy initiatives in charge of managing financial donations to associations should be more cautious locally. A cut in funding threatens the livelihoods of those who make a living from their activities as mediators but it also threatens the very mission that resident volunteers have begun to believe in: restoring pride and restoring the forgotten voices of the neighbourhood residents.

7.2.3 - Integration

I think that I'm trying to break that... you know, the ghetto. I'm constantly being asked by friends and relatives about what I'm doing, why I'm doing it and whether it is dangerous. When I respond to them and tell them what needs to be done, about the fact that people here live in conditions that are not really excellent, I act as a link. I go home, I get out of the neighbourhood and I'm always giving information about the reality of this place. I think that all those who do what we do are like a reminder that these places exist and I show that the boundaries aren't so tight. That goes for all the team of volunteers who work with me. We're breaking down the boundaries.

The above quote is taken from an interview with the president of an association that works closely with families in Pissevin, and particularly with mothers who find moving into housing estates difficult. She has previously lived in London where she volunteered for an organisation named Home Start International. It was there that she discovered the 'technique' that she tries to apply today all over Nîmes through her association. The ambition that the informant has is to allow for women of different socio-economic backgrounds to meet regularly. The theory behind her association is that newly arrived women who might have come from a different country will find the experience of life in the neighbourhood of Pissevin daunting. "These mothers often feel terrified by what they see" says the association's president. Some "never ever leave their apartments and even send out their children to do the shopping." This leads to many difficulties for them and for their family. For instance, she explains that many women are unaware of the range of the subsidies that they might be entitled to receive and often do not have the language skills to research such valuable information. They are rarely equipped with working internet connections even as, once again, their current issues concerning the French language would be a problem as are the complex government bodies that provide subsidies to the poor, large families or single mothers. The association thus provides these women and their families with assistance. They arrange for other women, who sometimes come from beyond

Pissevin and Valdegour (although not always), to regularly visit the families and forge friendships with those who are in the greatest difficulty.

It is always a bit of a challenge to get women in here and started up as a volunteer. The place is loaded with preconceptions and people will be all happy to help people with difficulties but tell them it is in Pissevin and they turn around and go look for opportunities elsewhere. [...] When those who join us go home, and they always go home safely, what sort of message does that send out to the rest of region? A good one right? [...] There are really strong friendships that this association has created and always, the woman who isn't from the neighbourhood is inclined to go back into Nîmes and say: 'This image that you have about people in Pissevin... well it isn't entirely true'.

Those who give up their time allow for territorial stigma to be challenged through their everyday experience of the neighbourhoods. Not only do their visits to Pissevin displace previously held fears, but the fact that they keep going to these supposed 'no-go zones' spreads to other non-residents who then question their own negative ideas or preconceptions of Valdegour and Pissevin. On top of becoming friends with those for whom they care, volunteers end up providing help in everyday affairs such as shopping, language learning or attempts to master the paperwork of funding bodies. Two women who both moved to Pissevin from abroad in 2006 and 2007 respectively, explain what their relationship with volunteers has allowed:

Before [volunteer's name], I was totally locked in, locked into a shell. With her, I regained some trust in myself. Now, I'm not scared of taking the bus or of going out shopping. Thanks to [volunteer's name] I feel protected now.

There was a time when I just had no idea how I would manage. I just couldn't manage anymore. Taking care of the kids, dealing with the new flat... I'd only leave to see the doctor and I think he saw that I wasn't well mentally. The doctor recommended [association] to me. Since then it has been a lot easier.

[Volunteer's name] really gets on with my kids and she helps the eldest one to read.

The president of the association explains that:

For many of these women, there is a real shock. They get in from Morocco, or wherever. [...] Well, somehow they already know that they're moving to a bad neighbourhood. Either because they have a husband who's already here or... They know it anyway. They arrive and they are often really scared. So what is interesting about [association] is that we have these women who live in sometimes very pleasant neighbourhoods, other times less wealthy, but they are the ones who come and through what they do, they help the women to see that it isn't something to be worried about... Not to that extent anyway.

Territorial stigmatisation is so powerful that it has entered into the minds of recently arrived immigrants. Not only must they then endure the difficulties of learning to adapt in a new country, with its often difficult bureaucratic procedures and the stress of finding a home, they also must confront the everyday realities of territorial stigmatisation and its consequences. Once the women have been introduced, it is up to them to plan their meetings and their time together as they wish. However, in many cases, the president explains that volunteers take the families with whom they work out of Pissevin and into the rest of Nîmes:

"What triggered this is the fact that there are food packages that are available in the city-centre at times. It isn't exactly obvious to some of the mothers, so they generally get driven there by their volunteer. And for some this can be the first time that they leave the estate since moving here... In some cases, we're talking years."

Thus, not only is the association thought to be tearing down the invisible border by making non-residents enter the housing estates from time to time, having them enter the buildings,

walk through the corridors and explore the apartments of their new 'friend', but it also achieves the opposite.

Accompanied by their volunteers, the women become more inclined and willing to leave the housing estates and stroll through the streets of what has long been perceived as 'another city'. The barrier between resident and non-resident is eroded through regular contact both in Nîmes generally and in the housing estates. By encouraging the moving between boundaries, the women volunteers are actively participating in pushing for interactions between diverse individuals and this provides a potential first step in overcoming stigmatising representations.

7.2.4 - Fear

Five volunteers who were not residents of Pissevin and Valdegour claimed that participation in associational life within stigmatised neighbourhoods had led to dramatic changes in their previously held stereotypes. Their original encounter with the housing estates' aesthetic was often a little difficult and they described the apprehension that they first felt when entering the neighbourhoods for the first time. A respondent who was involved in a theatre group explained that on her first visits to the neighbourhoods she would come "without credit cards, without the telephone and nothing that they [residents] might have been able to steal". In the end, she affirms that regular contact with the stigmatised urban area erased some of the fears that had been summoned up through "a deeply felt challenge to my judgements." She describes these original fears as being anchored in the aesthetic of the buildings and in the stories she had heard "on the news, and in conversations with people in the city." An ex-schoolteacher and volunteer talks similarly about the fact that:

Of course, when I took the decision about coming here, I thought long and hard. I'd taught in a school not far [from the estates] and I'd had to deal with some of the kids. It wasn't always easy. But I retired and I felt a bit useless to tell you the truth. I thought about where I could best put my experience to use and it occurred to me that those who need us the most are in the ZUP. [...] In the end,

you know, it really turned out to be fine. You get offered more hash here than elsewhere (*laughs*). That is hardly putting me in a situation where I feel threatened for my security and I think I've become too old to look like I'm interested in their products (*laughs*) [...]. The point is that there isn't much going on that scares me there. You don't have gang members on every corner. You don't have people getting shot. You don't have... you know, you don't have the things that you see on the telly.

In this instance, the volunteer explained that she once was a little frightened of the youths with whom she would be dealing in Valdegour. She explains what *does not* happen in the *cit  * as though is something that some might expect to see there, such as gangs and high levels of criminality. These would be more easily associated with ghettos in the United States and during our discussion, the respondent explained that she was well aware of common associations between Valdegour and a ghetto. For her, the *cit  s* of N  mes do not summon the same urban fears that come to mind when thinking about such urban forms. In effect, her experience of Valdegour has led to the disappearance of her preconceptions and anxieties: "I realised that [the residents] just needed to be spoken to and that they were happy to listen if you don't treat them like buffoons". Although the 'us' and 'them' rhetoric is present in her responses, the interactions that this volunteer exhibited in public with the residents never indicated any sense of superiority or difference. Her attitude was one that has been promoted by Tzvetan Todorov (1982: 138) who claims that it is only through 'speaking to', and not by 'speaking about' that one recognises another as a subject comparable to oneself (also hooks 1990).

Although non-resident volunteers may have had preconceived ideas about the neighbourhoods on their first few visits, and although they may at times be reproducing a disciplinary language or one of surveillance, they encourage a vision that is based on the absence of difference. The fears that they may once have felt are talked about as being firmly in the past, evaporated through regular contact with residents, and one that is based on equality. One non-resident, intent on providing education to some of the local youths,

made clear that as a volunteer she had learnt as much from her regular encounters with young people than she hoped they might have learnt from her.

I don't mean that I learnt things in the sense of when you learn biology or maths. I'd had experiences with what people call the *banlieues* youth in my last post as a teacher and that's what I said when I offered to volunteer here. I thought I knew all about them and thought of my mission as something like a missionary in a way. But the freedom that I have in the [name of association] is totally different and it took all those silly things out of my head. Me and the young ones, we have all this freedom, we take our time and we learn to really like being around each other. It is so much fun. They take it really seriously, that takes away my anxieties as a teacher you know because you never know how to approach this or that topic and if it will interest them. In a way, I stop thinking that I'm a teacher and that they are students or even that they are younger than me and all that.

This volunteer spoke of her presence in Valdegour as liberating. The young people with whom she worked provided her with aspects that life as a 'civil servant teacher' did not allow for. As such her experience of the stigmatised neighbourhood not only allowed for the demystification of a mysterious neighbourhood, it also contributed to the enabling of some level of personal freedom.

7.2.5 - Youths

The belief in engaging children from the *cités* is at times associated with what may be construed as stigmatised perceptions of parental disinvestment, mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. An interview with a volunteer involved in an after-school association demonstrates a desire to maintain an ethic of care in balance with the duties of parents from the neighbourhood:

We have to be very strict I suppose. If you say that you'll accept everyone then, kids that haven't been doing well at school turn up... They don't change their attitudes just because they are with us. The totalising picture has to include their parents. There is a problem upstream and the parents need to control it and to regain an influence on their child. [...] Ultimately, if it fails, we have to ban the kids from the programme and the parents know this. They know they need to get involved.

There is a punitive element to this respondent's words. Youths in the above association may be banned from further participation if they do not obey established rules. These rules are partly the results of a vision of *cité* children as 'more difficult to discipline'. This is visible in other quotes from teachers or ex-teachers who have had experience with what they believe to have been *cité* youths.

The age groups of respondents vary substantially but the non-residents that I interviewed had seen their own children leave home and venture into university or a professional career (when they did have children, as was not always the case). There was a sense that they wanted to replicate this 'success' in the young people with whom they were currently working in 'problem neighbourhoods'. The aforementioned volunteer explains that:

It is open to everyone to be successful in school, I don't care what you hear on the telly. It isn't easy, but everyone can do it. Same here, you have the ones [...] I don't know how to say it apart from saying that you know they could go far if it wasn't for... Actually, they are limited by a number of things: the neighbourhood, the fact that it is 'cool' to be bad at school. A lot of things. I just know that there are plenty of these boys [sic] who'd get out and do a lot better if we took them out of *cité*.

This latter quote replicates the language of 'neighbourhood effects', stating that it is Valdegour that is a bad influence on the youths and that, were these to be moved elsewhere, their school results would be improved (for a detailed critique of this argument,

see Slater 2012). Even though they somewhat replicate the language of stigma and a controlling gaze, the above remarks are anchored in a desire for improving the lives of estate residents via better parental control and education, both of which signal the desire to see Valdegour being increasingly 'integrated' into the social fabric of the city of Nîmes. This vision, however is not incompatible with that of other members of associations who encourage an engagement with the children less than parents, in order to instil some sense of the aforementioned respect and distil the appearance of control. An ex-school teacher explains how her perception of Valdegour youths was influenced by her own involvement with the association:

The schools here are not as bad as you'll hear. Teachers all go through the same state exam process, right? But it wasn't my feeling before. My feeling was, even as a teacher myself, that the schools here had the young and inexperienced teachers. Well, that isn't true. There are great teachers here, from primary school to the *lycée* [high school]. The thing is that schools aren't exactly the best environments for giving the kids a place to speak in and express their thoughts and opinions. We help them with school work but we also make sure that the kids get to feel included in the process of learning rather than just as receptacles for knowledge. That is something they resist a lot. I'm not saying other teachers don't give the kids respect, I'm just saying that isn't what school is for. And our little meeting place allows for some children to feel listened to and respected as equals. We have the time to explain the value of knowing about maths or biology, otherwise they just don't get it because they think: 'Why would I study if I'm going to be unemployed like my parents?'

The schooling segregation that operates within the city of Nîmes, and within France as a whole (Felouzis *et al.* 2007; Poupeau and François 2008), has led to an increasing number of parents taking children out of priority educational zones if they have the means to (for instance, by using a relative's address outside the neighbourhood). For a volunteer, one of the consequences has been that:

the kids we're dealing with here feel abandoned, they feel like the lowest of the low and they react by acting like education and learning isn't for them. But all they need is speaking to directly, calmly, without judgement. They need to be regarded as adults in a way.

Although these quotes demonstrate a profound desire to help *cité* children, there is an implicit understanding that without greater social justice in the *banlieues* as a whole, this will be difficult to accomplish. School children in housing estates are made to feel different from the rest of children in France and the associational workers who engage in after-school programmes are keen to remedy this issue. The feeling that the future of children brought up in Pissevin and Valdegour is pre-determined by social conditions and urban marginality is one that affects volunteers. For my respondents it was clear that *cité* youths feel 'abandoned' and 'frustrated' and in the above quote, it appears that they are normally talked to as though they are 'buffoons'. What is more, I was told by seven participants who are engaged with associations that act with children that *cité* youths need to be listened to attentively when they speak, suggesting that this is something that occurs only too rarely in their lives. These identified differences with the rest of the city's schooled population are identified as a consequence of territorial stigmatisation:

The only reason that you see all this associational presence is because there is another problem, and that is the reputation of this place in which they have to live.

7.3 - Grassroots organising against territorial stigma

7.3.1 - Neighbourhood committees

The city of Nîmes has 45 different neighbourhood committees that aim to respond to the needs and concerns of the residents living upon their territory. Mas-de-Mingue and Chemin-Bas-d'Avignon, the two ZUPs to the East of the city, have long had registered neighbourhood committees. Valdegour has no committee of its own and has not had one since the late

1970s. The committee of Pissevin, on the other hand, does exist and it is extremely visible in city meetings. It has long been run by one man who is also the president of administrative council for neighbourhood committees throughout the city. This position gives him access to information and to voice his concerns about disinvestment in the housing estate on a regular basis. The newly created Nîmes Ouest neighbourhood committee is of some concern to the Pissevin committee as it claims to speak for Pissevin as well as include smaller neighbouring areas. It was established in 2006 to respond to what were perceived as the failings of the Pissevin committee.

The following discussion addresses some of the issues involved with neighbourhood committees. First, there is the question of how to be fully representational of the incredibly diverse populations of Pissevin and Valdegour. The stated aim of the committees is not to combat stigmatisation *per se*. However, each one attempts in its own way to improve lives within the neighbourhood: the first, by addressing the structural issue of inequality; and the second, by attending to everyday aesthetics, safety and amenities within the estates. Each committee has a very different take on how to go about its mission, with more or less inclusivity when it comes to 'giving voice' to residents. There is, for instance, an important problem involved in the fact that Valdegour is not officially represented by either committee. In effect, when I asked about this, spokespeople for the committees assured me that they did represent the inhabitants of Valdegour, yet there is little space for this estate in their written and spoken claims⁹¹.

Having two neighbourhood committees in one reasonably sized area means that there is undoubtedly some competition to attract attention. For instance, the President of the Pissevin neighbourhood committee declared in an interview:

I don't care [*je me fous complètement*] about the Nîmes Ouest committee... It is nonsense. Really. I think they give all this importance to a dent in the road, or a little pothole here... They completely ignore the fact that there may be a bigger

⁹¹ Since the end of my fieldwork, Valdegour has been trying to set up its own committee, under the leadership of Mohammed Jaffal, a very vocal critic of the mayor and a leader of housing federations for several decades.

picture here, bigger than streets and pavements and bigger than installing more recycling bins.

The slightly aggressive style of speech that the president of the committee articulates has, of his own admittance, led to a number of members taking a distance from the organisation. As such, the Pissevin committee has been deemed to speak for itself by some of the other residents. One of the council members of the Nîmes Ouest committee explained that the Pissevin committee "doesn't give us enough space to speak as residents". Its president is a firm believer in left wing politics, declaring himself to be directly influenced by the communist party. During our interview, he expressed a fondness for structural visions of the problems that the neighbourhoods are facing. For him, one does not successfully deal with stigmatisation by rearticulating the supposed concerns of residents that are spelt out in the press. His understanding of power means that he feels he must position himself as an obstacle to the decisions that are taken 'above', without the consultation of residents. He clearly articulates a vision of the city that is imbued with conflict. His own discourse is full of melancholia and nostalgia about the time when he first moved into the estate and he fully admits to living "a dream":

No-one should forget that the neighbourhood was one day a little marvel. No-one should just close their eyes and pretend it has always been this way. I'm there. I'm going to be there every day, all the time, every minute to remind the bastards that if we're in this shit, it is because they let it happen! I don't give a shit. I'll devote all my energy to reminding people that once, there was a glorious Pissevin and a glorious Valdegour: the ZUP. Yes, I believe it was glorious [*laughs*]. That's what everyone said! In the meantime, instead of repeating endless nonsense about demolitions and the dispersal of the population, why don't we think about the urban policies that made this happen, eh?

During one of our encounters, he took out a photocopied map that he had put his hands on the previous day. The map became a useful object that explained how he conceived of the everyday resistance to the 'dominant' representations of the city. It was a representation of

the neighbourhood of Pissevin with the projected building of a new school on the avenue Kennedy, between Valdegour and Pissevin, in a previously protected park named the Colline aux Oiseaux (the hill of the birds).

Now what we need to do is to keep things like the Colline aux Oiseaux in ways that people can use it. It is the only protected part of Pissevin! Come on! It is absolute nonsense! I feel that a neighbourhood committee should stand up and react when they say they are going to build us another school... and on top of that in the park! There has been no consultation and I think that this is where you see the stigmatisation of the whole area and the people here. No consultation with us, not a word to the committees, to anyone. As though none of that matters. That's what I think the committee needs to be doing! I couldn't care less about harmonious living because I think it is harmonious enough. It could be better but no-one up there wants us to make decisions. That's the committee's responsibility. Nîmes Ouest can deal with the grass and the potholes.

The issue of consultation is an important one for the Pissevin neighbourhood committee. The president attends all the meetings that he finds the time to with or without invitations; he was, for example, present in three of the meetings that I attended about urban policy in the housing estates. As the map that he showed me demonstrates, he fervently examines every decision that is taken about the neighbourhood of Pissevin and spends time in the town hall looking through files. In a part of the interview where he identified one of the Nîmes Ouest committee members as being "right wing", the president of the Pissevin committee discredited the whole association as one that colluded with the town hall to do the strict minimum for the neighbourhood. His own energy is directed towards gaining more strength in terms of political representation for the area in the city planning decisions. He has recently been attempting to prove that the renovation funds that had originally been handed to the town hall in order to rejuvenate the Pissevin and Valdegour are being misspent on enlarging streets in the city centre. Although everyone recognises that some of

his fights are of great importance, his modes of operation are accused of ignoring the everyday realities and daily difficulties that the inhabitants face.

The Nîmes Ouest neighbourhood committee is attempting to bridge this gap. During a meeting on the 25th of March 2010, the committee detailed its desire to be as inclusive as possible. The report, published after the meeting, clearly states that the newer committee's existence is predicated upon its success in including 'communities' (Conseil de Quartier 2010: 9). One of the council members believes that the mission should be one that reconciles the fact of difference in the neighbourhood with full participation:

We know about the difficult job that people like the Pissevin neighbourhood committee have to do. But we thought we needed something that actually spoke to the days and nights of the residents. I think that perhaps it is more about dealing with the ways the public spaces can be used, making sure that the housing associations repair defunct elevators or buzzers on the front doors. In a way, we see the mission as making sure that the neighbourhood, as a machine, is well oiled and functioning. And this can't be done without the full representation of the people who live here right? Originally, there were a few elderly women whose concerns were really justified. And we thought we should expand it to include the concerns of all the people here and to try to achieve their representation, even if that means addressing the issue of communities you know? So we go to see the Comorians, we go to see the people from Mali and all that and we ask them to speak up.

In a nation like France, where statistics about ethnic differences remain a taboo along with a constant fear about communitarianism, this sort of ethnic representation can be perceived as deeply problematic. However, the Nîmes Ouest neighbourhood committee has pushed the diversity of ethnic backgrounds in the housing estates into the landscape of popular representation. This sort of representation challenges the established norms through which demands are made on the municipal level, and of course, nationally. Upon inquiry, the only 'community' that had not responded fully to the questions raised by the neighbourhood

committee were the Hmongs: "They are very, very quiet. They have no problems that they wish to address in any of these public meetings and, to be quite honest they are fairly withdrawn". Other 'communities' have spoken out and their comments are duly noted in a lengthy but very clear report. The committee avoids any mention of 'who does the talking' when it comes community participation as it appears in this report. The demands are listed over 11 pages of a 32 page document for the year 2010 and they concern the practical usage of the neighbourhood. Following these demands are pictures of the problems: potholes, wild rubbish dumps, corrugated iron fences, abandoned trash in underground car-parks. Pinpointed problems are followed by a clearly marked associated financial cost (e.g. "Adding a disabled ramp on the Le Castor building, 1600 euro"). The last page of the demands states in bold letters:

"Dealing with these issues fully will cost the city of Nîmes but we are all its residents. It will contribute to changing the nature of the neighbourhood and with that, giving the residents a feeling of mutual belonging" (Conseil de Quartier 2010: 11).

There is an implication here that citizens of Pissevin (and Valdegour) are treated differently to other Nîmes residents and the council's report wishes to remind the town hall that both housing estates are a part of the city. The idea that estate residents are themselves made to feel different is highlighted by the fact that there is not as yet a 'feeling of mutual belonging' for residents of the housing estates. As I have explained in the preceding chapter, some residents feel cut off from Nîmes entirely and describe their movements into the historic centre as though they were changing towns altogether. Investing in the rejuvenation and rehabilitation of streets, in cleaning up parks and ensuring that all estate residents can navigate safely through the streets on pavements (that are absent from some of the streets) is something that Nîmes Ouest, as a committee, feels that the town hall needs to do. This investment would, it is thought, remind Pissevin and Valdegour residents that they are included in the city of Nîmes as equals. An important change that the Nîmes Ouest neighbourhood committee has tried to install is an inclusivity that bridges the gap between Valdegour and Pissevin. Expanding the frontiers of representation would allow Valdegour to

be considered as part of the territory on which the committee operates. Thus, neighbourhoods that begin on the borders of Pissevin and that have different socio-economic populations are also included in these partnerships. However, perhaps because the neighbourhood committee is still fairly young, Valdegour does not yet attract all the attention that is given to the more widely populated Pissevin. Notwithstanding, there is little sense that the Pissevin committee, as its name demonstrates, has any interest in tackling structural issues in Valdegour.

Questioning the actual levels of inclusivity of these committees is important and should not be pushed aside. The Pissevin committee is very frank about its concerns being beyond inclusivity as such. The president of the committee sees his mission as one that is opposed to the dominant decision makers in the town hall and regional policy enforcers. He is certain that the consequences of his actions have an effect that all residents can benefit from as he claims to be acting in order to vanquish stigmatising regard for the neighbourhood. His 'taking centre stage' leads to a certain level of ostracism from fellow residents who believe his actions to be frivolous in that they lead to no visible consequence. The Nîmes Ouest committee does not choose to ostracise people from public speaking within its regular meetings and councils. It hopes to fight stigmatisation through remedial diagnostics that might, with the town hall's acquiescence, lead to an improvement in the everyday infrastructure of a neighbourhood that is presented as 'falling apart'. Examples of this are the 'walking in Pissevin diagnostic' where all residents were invited to take pictures of aspects of the neighbourhood that they found problematic. These were then sent to an editor who compiled them into a file for viewing by town hall officials (see Groupe Réflex 2010). The visual aids that they have used to demonstrate this speak volumes to the ways in which they choose to represent the estate to decision makers. Inevitably, there will be people within the neighbourhoods whose voices will remain absent from any of the claims made by those who choose to verbally and physically represent a 'community', a common space or a neighbourhood. The voices that can be heard from the Nîmes Ouest camp demonstrate the same abilities as those that social workers have developed. The language that is used is tactical in its framing and highlights such aspects as 'successful integration', 'assimilation into the French community' or 'improving security'. Meanwhile the concerns of

the committee members are phrased differently when not on official paper and a genuine attempt at securing financial aid, positive media attention and reassuring the city is at the heart of their endeavours. These representations have implications for territorial stigmatisation. Thus, the Pissevin committee president operates in the traditionally head-on ways of political conflict with a firm belief in the fact that, if money and attention were spent on the estates, the stigma would be less present. The Nîmes Ouest committee successfully gains minor improvement by playing into the language of territorial stigmatisation. Indeed, by admitting that the residents of the estates are not integrated socially into the fabric of the city and by claiming that, given the means, they will allow for this to happen, they paradoxically reproduce stigmatic representations while making daily life for residents more pleasant locally.

7.3.2 – Re-representing the *cités* - creating new media representations

For several years, Jean-Marie Marconot has been a resident of Pissevin. Once a catholic priest, he rid himself of his ecclesiastical status to study sociology and he has now written a number of books on Nîmes and its housing estates (Marconot 1988, 1990, 1994, 1998). Feeling that media attention was generally unfavourable when it came to covering Pissevin, he allied himself in 2008 with four other residents and launched *L'Almanach de Pissevin*. Published in the form of little booklets, the paper publishes interviews with local residents and opens its pages up to life 'narratives' in which residents can express themselves freely, relating their experiences of life in the housing estate. Included are also pictures of the estates which differ markedly from those that would appear in other media. Instead of the greying tower blocks, Marconot encourages residents to take pictures of the estate in a different light. The emphasis is on greenery, the setting sun and the other colours of buildings as well as intriguing graffiti work. *L'Almanach de Pissevin* also contains advice to urban planners and city authorities. For example the fourth copy of 2008 is scornful of the way that decision making takes place 'at the top': "Why is it that we have let our city officials lose their power when it comes to taking decisions about the neighbourhood. The *agglomération* [see chapter 5] is deeply problematic. What do people from other

municipalities know about Pissevin? Why did these people decide that they could replace the Henri Wallon school with a factory?" (ALP 2008: 14). In a poem about Valdegour, written by Marconot himself, the story is of a neighbour who cannot start his car one morning. The narrator explains that he tried to help out and opened the car up to see the motor which had disappeared and, having described the neighbourhood in the preceding verses, Marconot finishes: "A car without a motor finds it hard to start up / It is like social housing." (ALP 2008: 41). The tone of the paper oscillates between condemnation of officials and policy and an assertive tone that stresses the positive qualities of Pissevin and Valdegour, qualities that can be re-energised if they could receive a little boost.

One of the main organised collectives in Pissevin and Valdegour is the local Valdegour newspaper: *Le Journal de Valdegour* [JDV]. Unlike other local papers (*Le Midi Libre*, *La Gazette de Nîmes*, *Gard Mag'*), the JDV does not come out as a daily, or indeed, as a weekly. Rather, those who run it see it as an outreach paper and attempt to fill its pages with the words (and works) of residents. Thus, it is not uncommon for the paper to mourn the passing of a long-term member of the Valdegour community or to comment and promote future events that are to take place. It also acts as a cook-book, has a sports page and gives space to the prose and poetry of residents, including rap lyrics. It is in every way, a strictly community paper, working as it does to keep the idea of the *quartier* alive and to spread a feeling of neighbourhood pride that the editing staff feel is heavily under threat.

I suppose you could say that we were a little angry. You'd pick up the *Midi Libre* [the regional daily] and think to yourself that they aren't the best to comment on what's going on here... A lot of the time, in the press that everybody reads, all you see is rumours and things like hearsay. You have a couple of journalists who comment on positive events that go on there and some of them do so because they hear about what is going on from us first. Anyway, the feeling I had was that if you're tired of other people writing about the neighbourhood in always negative terms, then write about it yourself.

LE JOURNAL DE VALDEGOUR



Le JDV

MARS 2012

NUMERO

69

LA CLASSE DE SEGPA DU COLLEGE DIDEROT



Mme Dondard est la directrice de la classe de SEGPA depuis un an. Le Did'info lui a posé quelques questions pour savoir ce qu'est la SEGPA.

Did'info : Qu'est ce que la SEGPA ?

Mme Dondard : C'est le sigle de Section d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel Adapté.

Did'info : A t on le choix d'y aller ou est-ce obligé ?

Mme Dondard : Les parents ont toujours le choix d'accepter ou de refuser.

Did'info : A quoi sert la SEGPA ?

Mme Dondard : Cela sert à accompagner des élèves reconnus en difficulté d'apprentissage, à retrouver confiance en soi, plaisir à apprendre, à améliorer les acquis scolaires et à élaborer un projet professionnel.

Did'info : Après la SEGPA peut-on aller au lycée général ?

Mme Dondard : Non, car quand on est en SEGPA c'est plutôt le lycée professionnel mais plus tard si la personne veut basculer dans un lycée.

Did'info : Est-ce plutôt un privilège ou une punition ?

Mme Dondard : C'est une chance pour des élèves qui ont des capacités qu'ils n'ont pas pu exploiter à l'école.

Did'info : Quel genre d'élèves y accèdent ?

Mme Dondard : Ce sont des élèves qui ont des difficultés et qui n'apprennent pas de la même manière que les autres.

Did'info : Cela fait combien de temps que vous êtes à Diderot ?

Mme Dondard : Cela fait seulement un an.

Did'info : Je vous remercie d'avoir répondu à mes questions.

SPORT



L'équipe de l'USAM Nîmes Gard handball est classée 12^{ème} du classement. Cette équipe dans le passé a eu 4 titres de Champions de France et fut 3 fois vice-championne de France.

Généralisations Futures Nîmes Handball est une équipe de handball de -12, -14 et -16 ans. Cette équipe traverse des moments difficiles cette année. Les joueurs s'entraînent dehors, il n'y a pas de gymnase. Il faut les aider. Leur gymnase a été dégradé, brûlé et les autorités ne souhaitent pas le réparer.

Les jeunes handballeurs paient les matches qu'ils jouent au forfait car ils n'ont pas de secrétaire. Si des personnes bénévoles souhaitent prendre le poste de secrétaire, elles sont les bienvenues et les inscriptions sont possibles pour ceux qui souhaitent jouer ou devenir membre du club. Comprenez la situation où se retrouve ce club de handball qui est entraîné par Shérif Hamadi.

SARAH KIMMA

APRES LA VACHE FOLLE, LE FRIC FOU !

Voilà... des banques Américaines ont acheté des maisons et elles ont essayé de les revendre aux pauvres avec des taux d'intérêt très alléchants. 6 mois après, ces mêmes taux d'intérêt sont montés en flèche. Du coup, les gens ne pouvaient plus payer leur crédit alors les banques ont repris les maisons. Le problème c'est que trop de gens sont tombés dans le panneau et l'argent est bloqué dans des murs... mais cet argent était déjà prêté par d'autres banques qui se trouvent aux quatre coins du monde qui à leur tour comptaient sur le remboursement et donc l'avait engagé d'avance dans d'autres opérations... Et tout cet argent venait des actionnaires... Ceux-ci ont paniqué et ont vendu leurs actions... dont prix s'est effondré du coup. Voilà pourquoi on parle de crise financière mondiale.

Moralité, si tu prêtes des billes à ton voisin qui est un très bon joueur et que tu es sûr qu'il va te ramener deux billes de plus, ne joue pas tes gains avant de les avoir touchés réellement sinon tu risques d'avoir des problèmes dans la cour de récréation avec tes copains. Alors tu demanderas à tes parents de t'acheter des billes pour que tu puisses les rendre à tes copains. Si tu gagnes des billes, alors là tu les garderas pour toi. Exactement comme font les banques avec les gens, quand elles font du bénéfice : elles se partagent le gâteau entre elles mais quand ça va mal elles demandent aux Etats d'augmenter les impôts. Facile non ?



NOURIZADA FAZAL YASSINE

VOTONS !

Les élections pour élire un nouveau Président de la République en France ont lieu cette année le 22 avril et le 6 mai 2012.

Au mois de Juin, nous votons pour les élections législatives. Ce sera les 10 et 17 juin.

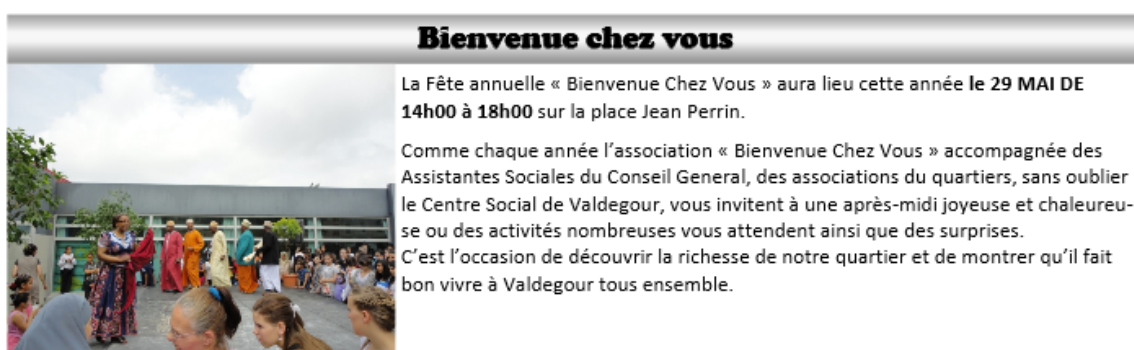
Dans la période très difficile où nous vivons actuellement, il est très très important de voter parce que l'avenir risque d'être encore plus difficile.

Alors, prenons le temps de réfléchir en conscience et surtout allons voter !



The *Journal de Valdegour* benefits from small levels of state funding, and at the time of the research had two paid staff that worked on its editorial board. Their work consists in promoting the paper, distributing it, getting subscriptions and hunting down financial support. The most important part of their work is to get children involved and writing about the neighbourhood, or about whatever interests them. This ranges from Martin Luther King (issue 68) to discussing the 'adolescence crisis' (issue 58). Importantly, many contributors to the JDV attempt to re-script the neighbourhood as a place that harbours positive things, not only criminality, deviance or fear.

We found... and we were not surprised at all... that loads of people wanted to collaborate. Sometimes, they wanted to write about football... They wanted to write about something in Algeria, in Tunisia. Sometimes, they wanted to share a recipe. We let everyone get a word in. But the most interesting things are when people write about the neighbourhood. That's when you see the true feelings people have and that it isn't all about fear and rap or whatever.



This section of the JDV invites residents to attend the "Welcome to your home" festival. It finishes with: "This will be an occasion to discover the richness of our neighbourhood and to show that living in Valdegour together is agreeable".

Along with some of what Marconot (1988, 1994) has published on the topic, the JDV has made it a mission to open a visible space of contestation with the counter-discursive move of relating 'positive' stories of Valdegour (and Pissevin to a smaller extent). The narratives, the brief life stories, are all aimed at painting a picture that has nothing to do with the one that can be seen elsewhere.

I saw this beautifully named TV documentary, it was shit. It was beautifully named: 'Nîmes: Cops under pressure and delinquents which are ready for everything'. The only person that this kind of shit serves are the interior ministry and Sarkozy. The funny thing is, you know that because this was on at 22h00, most of the *Nîmois* [residents of Nîmes] were watching their TVs. And what? They worry even more. They lock their doors, they watch out their windows in

fear. Well, now what we want to do is distribute the JDV in their comfort zone. In Nîmes. In the centre. It is a bit like spreading the good news! *[laughs]* 'Look, we aren't just shooting each other, we are writing a paper!'

The JDV is the most explicit attempt at changing the neighbourhood reputation and in some way, it has gone from being the fantasy of a group of two people, to becoming an important neighbourhood institution. The efforts made by the paper are the most monitored by outsiders and residents. In 2011, there was a small decrease in the publication levels and this caused a lot of sadness in Valdegour residents. The president of the paper explains that:

When they see the name, the *Journal de Valdegour*, they think, like me... they think, this is our thing, you know? It is our thing, it shows the truth about the neighbourhood. And yes, we like to share it. I like to see people who take interest like you or the volunteers who work with us on it. [...] The JDV is a sense of pride for me but also, I think, for the people in Valdegour.

Like the *Almanach de Pissevin*, the JDV often writes short commentaries on urban policy decisions. One of these, a moving article entitled 'Demolition', written by Atman K., deserves to be quoted at length:

"It has started, the Galilée block is set to be demolished, after the Newton block, the Jean Perrin tower, the Archimède block, the bridge to Archimède street [...]. If people who once resided there want to let us know what they feel about the demolition, contact us and we will publish your reactions [...] [T]he falling stones are as many memories from my childhood that crumble and break like these sad bits of concrete. Soon Galilée will be gone and a large emptiness will take its place, aerating a neighbourhood that the city wants less dense, and this emptiness will drown my heart for many years to come. It is between the warm and comforting walls of a spacious apartment in Galilée that my life began [...]. The image of this building remains one of the most beautiful in my childhood

memories [...]. I know understand better the expression: 'things were better before'".

Démolition

C'est parti, c'est au tour de la barre Galilée d'être détruite après celle de Newton, la tour Jean Perrin, la barre Archimède, le pont de la rue Archimède. La démolition des 170 logements des montées 2 à 18 de la barre Galilée vient de commencer.

Ce chantier, dont le coût est de 1012500 € va durer plusieurs mois et devrait s'achever en février 2012.

Après 3 semaines de retard sur le calendrier de départ, à cause d'un souci de désamiantage, la démolition a démarré.

Une fois la barre détruite, habitat du Gard va céder le terrain à la ville de Nîmes et ainsi aérer le quartier.

Si des anciens habitants veulent réagir suite à cette nouvelle destruction qu'ils nous écrivent et nous feront passer leurs réactions sur le Journal.

Aujourd'hui, les terrasses s'écroulent sous les coups de boutoir des engins de chantier et les pierres qui tombent sont autant de souvenirs de mon enfance qui s'effritent et se brisent comme ces tristes morceaux de bétons.

Bientôt Galilée ne sera plus et un grand vide prendra sa place, aérant un quartier, que la ville veut moins dense et ce grand vide inondera quelques années encore mon cœur.




C'est entre les murs chauds et doux d'un appartement spacieux et confortable de Galilée qu'a débuté mon enfance et c'est sur les terrasses ensoleillées de cet immeuble que ma passion pour le sport est née et que j'ai tapé dans mes premiers ballons. C'est ici que l'OM s'est ancrée dans mon cœur pour toujours. L'image de cet immeuble reste comme une des plus belles dans mes souvenirs d'enfance. Chaque soir en revenant de l'école nous nous asseyions sur les bancs de la terrasse et on rigolait de longues heures entre copains savourant ces heures douces et insouciantes. Je comprends mieux l'expression : « c'était mieux avant »

Atman K

"Démolition", by Atman K. (Source: Journal de Valdegour, 68).

The existence of the *Almanach de Pissevin* and of the JDV have prompted a group of school children to attempt the same initiative. Did'Info, while geared towards a younger audience has set its own objectives which are to give voice to a new generation of residents. It has set up a website and will be published on paper from September 2013.



DID'INFO

Aux collège Diderot, il existe un journal d'information. Au départ, ce journal était imprimé, mais depuis 2 ans, les élèves du collège le font vivre sur un blog. Il s'appelle le **Did'info**.

Cette année, c'est notre classe, la 4^{ème} 3, qui en est chargée. Nous écrivons des articles concernant le collège, le quartier et tous les sujets qui nous concernent, nous les adolescents. Sur ce blog, vous trouverez des articles plus ou moins longs, ainsi que des photos. Si vous aussi vous voulez le voir, si ce que nous faisons au collège vous intéresse, allez regarder notre blog sur <http://lewebpedagogique.com/didinfo/> (ou bien dans Google, tapez **blog Did'info**). Et si vous avez envie de nous laisser un message, de nous donner votre avis, n'hésitez pas, c'est possible !

Mourad

MABIS

Article in JDV announcing the birth of Did'Info.

A number of residents also try to re-represent their neighbourhood, in ways that are similar to the JDV. When they engage with a non-resident of the housing estates, residents of Pissevin and Valdegour sometimes repaint the neighbourhoods using a different language than that which is more commonly associated with them.

7.4 - Everyday resistance to territorial stigmatisation?

7.4.1 - Challenging the idea of stigma

A single parent whose partner was still in Morocco at the time of our interview reported that although she was not a fan of the type of graffiti that the neighbourhood seemed to offer she nonetheless believed that it was better than "the concrete walls and all that grey".

To ask me about this stuff doesn't make sense anyway because what would I do? You see me scrubbing this off? I don't think anyone wants to. In a way, we'd feel we were annoying the person whose done the graffiti... And it isn't that I *like* it! It is just better than when it is always the same prefabricated walls and all that. At least, it gives a bit of colour. Sometimes they get cleaned. Rarely though huh. When they get cleaned, well you realise that it isn't like the wall behind was any prettier.

Of course, this may signal that the respondent is speaking from within a youth-dominated society in which the graffiti artist may be feared and where the deletion of one's 'mark' or 'signature' may lead to reprisal. Nonetheless, although the interviewee did, at one point, state that some youths from the neighbourhood were the source of 'trouble', fear of retribution for denouncing graffiti artist was not something she said she was worried about. While interviewing a woman whose husband had passed away twenty years prior and who found it hard to deal with the poor level of state benefits that she was forced to live on, I

mentioned the aesthetics of the *cité* of Pissevin. I had been expecting negative comments and, to my surprise, the respondent picked up on this quickly:

You ask me because you want me to say it is shitty and you'd be right to ask me. I'm elderly and I'm French so I must be wanting to live away from here. Well, the truth is that I have applied with the HLM agency to move in the past. And they didn't get back to me for ages. When they did, I said, I'd settled it nicely and that I'd deal with all this. In a way, I know what you're getting at with your questions. This isn't the Luxembourg Gardens or the Champs Elysées [both in Paris] and it isn't a gift to look at. I suppose I learnt to like it because, I think that in a bigger city, I couldn't rely upon the help and the neighbourliness as much as I do here. When I see the walls of our buildings here, that's what it means to me, a neighbourhood struggling to make it and with a lot of self-help between the residents. I wouldn't reward the young guys who do the graffiti with a prize for sure but what the graffiti means to me isn't the same as to an outsider.

This is yet another reminder of the tactics of identification, coping and stigma management that can at times operate in such neighbourhoods as Pissevin or Valdegour. For the respondent, graffiti did not qualify as aesthetic but it wasn't a concern with which she busied herself. She was at home in this neighbourhood or the part of it that qualified as home in her mind; those who had made the graffiti might have also been the people who helped her with her shopping baskets or kept the door open for her. Her awareness to this fact signals the potential to reinterpret marks of stigma as positive features of the urban landscape. Whether or not the resident was actually concerned with the graffiti, or indeed the presence of young people in stairwells and public places, matters little here. The fact that she had chosen to present what are usually associated with stigmatic representations of the neighbourhood as aspects of it that are not problematic is what counts. Considering that the respondent is of a certain age, she is one of those individuals that dominant visions perceive to be the biggest victims of uncontrollable *banlieue* youth. The fact that she wishes to deny that she is affected by this, even if it is only a representation of the neighbourhood that is narrated for me as an outsider to the estate is important. It demonstrates a decision to

ignore or combat the language that constructs Pissevin and Valdegour as profoundly run-down and unliveable.

7.4.2 - Festivals and the production of 'foreign places'

Festivals and to some extent festivities have been analysed by Henri Lefebvre in his analysis of everyday life (Burgel *et al* 1987; see also Elden 2004: 118 and Sheringham 2006: 157-158). On a number of occasions, festivals and street parties were organised that presented ethnicity, foreign countries or Islamic holy days as central to the neighbourhood and to its apparent sense of community. Ramadan celebrations in *banlieues* and housing estates both contribute to stigmatisation and are a form of resistance through the assertion of pride in heritage. These celebrations are an integral part of the everyday lives of residents.

Politicians have used these moments to push further the social construction of *banlieues* as Muslim places that operate outside the norm of Frenchness. Notwithstanding, in 2010, the Aïd el-Fitr ceremonies were highly inclusive nature. Muslims were of course present in the streets of Pissevin and Valdegour but so too, were a number of non-practicing people, including some of those who are participants in this research. Eating traditional North African sweets and deserts handed out free by a woman outside her buildings front door, a group of white, black, North African, veiled and unveiled women speak and laugh in a scene that one could imagine less easily in Nîmes' city centre area, the famous historic centre.

Other encounters with festivities took place in Valdegour when a group of Moroccan women from near the city of Meknes came to celebrate the exchange between Nîmes and the North African city. At this event, Valdegour residents who were from Morocco took the opportunity to speak in dialectal Arabic with people from a country or a region that they feel some bond to. The celebrations that such gatherings open up creates a sense of pride and breaks up the defensiveness with which some of the residents revert to when asked about their neighbourhood. In the minds of those who are visitors to the estates as well those who

reside there, the festivals are a chance to open public spaces of the estates in ways that challenge the readily accepted view that these are dangerous spaces.

When you hear these Moroccan women congratulate you on the food you've made, on the attitude of the residents it makes you feel really warm in the heart you know. It makes you feel like you're giving these people from the *bled*⁹² for a good time. And a lot of them had heard terrible things about Valdegour before, you know. Some of them, they were a little scared I think, but today, it is sunny, everyone is happy...

Events like these create spaces in which residents can ask for respect. This is made clear by the above respondent:

The fact that we get these things running, that we make the food, install the tables outside and that we make conviviality [sic], that is something that deserves some respect, no? And what? We ask the police to come... They always turn down our invitations. And the mayor, he doesn't come. But you know what, so much the better if I'm honest. At least this way we are together and no one feels like they are being watched too closely.

The togetherness, the food, the insistence on the origins of those organising the festivities, all of these reproduce a sense of community that is based upon the otherness of being more than French. The Arabic that was spoken throughout the afternoon during the Meknes women's visit would attract stares and feel out of place and be potentially treated as invasive outside the housing estates. The choice of clothing during a number of the festivities that I attended is, once again, an affirmation of ethnic identities that partly rely on a sense of the past, of a distant 'home country', of family roots and a reminder of what counts as tradition.

⁹² In Arabic the word 'balad' (بلد) means country or terrain. For urban dwellers, it has come to mean countryside. The word was shortened into 'bled' when it was incorporated into the French language.

The head of an association in Pissevin whose responsibility it is to co-organise a number of street parties and reunions describes the potentials that these groupings can create:

You get Mrs. Something who chats to Mr. Something and that is the essence of the community spirit. It is very active here in Pissevin. You always have one person helping out another person and that's because you have this strong community spirit which is in part due to people knowing that they are all foreign... well, foreign outside Pissevin, you know what I mean. So yeah, I suppose that when we make a Moroccan couscous, or when we drink mint tea, we are celebrating our differences and our ancestors. [...] [Gatherings] have nothing to do with integration. It has to do with saying: "here, now, we're celebrating our ancestors. We're French. But we celebrate our roots because in Pissevin, we want to celebrate this diversity. It is a richness.

By openly commemorating religious festivals that are linked to Islam or when celebrating the links that unite people from North Africa with the neighbourhood, the residents open up spaces that may be regarded as temporarily non-French, at least in as much as the dominant and 'legitimate' understanding of what this means is referred to. Although this also temporarily reinforces the image of these places as foreign and marginal, it reinforces neighbourhood ties that are vital for residents to gain the necessary feelings of pride that allow them to reject the negative images that are linked to these places. It partly allows for them to become the makers of different representations and counter-stigmatic imagery that I explore in the next section.

7.5 – Neighbourhood appropriation and speaking back to stigma

This section focuses on what might best be described as the everyday of life in the housing estates of Pissevin and Valdegour. Study of everyday life is linked to the works of Walter Benjamin, Henri Lefebvre, Roland Barthes, Georges Perec or Michel de Certeau (Sheringham 2006). These authors find spaces for resistance to the oppression of capitalist exploitation

within the everyday, in festivals, acts of *dérive* and *détournement* or through walking, cooking and reading (see also Augoyard 2007 [1979]). Importantly, Erving Goffman (1959) has also written extensively about what he called 'the presentation of self in everyday life'. There, he describes a space in which individuals and groups can display specific attitudes and modes of being in order to project a sometimes manipulated projection of one's self to others. This is a sign of the agency that individuals possess as they weave through different frames in order to best represent themselves, they do the same in order to best represent their neighbourhoods. Here I shall be looking at the everyday tactics of resistance to stigma that signal to the individual agency of residents. I will explore the micro-powers that effect, destabilise and manipulate the already existing representations.

7.5.1 - Displaying profound attachment to the stigmatised place of residence

During some of the interviews, the fact that a strong element of pride still exists for long-term residents of Pissevin and Valdegour was clear. The feeling that one is at home in the *cités* was palpable in interviews with a number of participants, particularly those born within the housing estates. I spoke to a young woman who had won a competition (*Le Talent des Cités*) to become an entrepreneur. The money she had earned was enough for her to start her own small local recycling company and she decided that she would open this up in Valdegour, where she had always lived. At the time of our interview, in February 2010, she balanced helping with the after school association, the *Maison de l'Accompagnement Scolaire*, with her newly established position as head of *Le Coin Ecolo* - which translates loosely as 'the eco corner'.

Above all else, what is important for me here is to say: "Look, we know how to recycle here too." It is surprising how much nonsense you hear about Valdegour. And when I set up *Le Coin Ecolo*, people were really surprised. The truth, to be honest, it is that I wouldn't have set it up anywhere else.

This display of attachment to the neighbourhood contradicts a number of statements made by Pierre Bourdieu about the degrading effects of residing in the French *banlieues* (1999

[1993]: 123). Examples of this profound attachment were reasonably frequent in my interview data. For example, upon his retirement, a school teacher from Pissevin decided that after 25 years, it was time to move to the city centre. During our interview he explained why this had turned out to be a bad idea:

As soon as I had loaded the last box into the van, I felt terrible. I couldn't remember why I was leaving and I sat there, in the van, just silent [...]. I was looking at the walls, at the city around me and thinking: 'I liked it here'. After one year in the city centre, I decided I'd had enough. [...] I guess I was just bored. You know, you go the cinema once, you go to a café... And then what? I'd be coming back here to meet with the friends and chat with my old school kids.

Acts like moving back to a stigmatised neighbourhood, opening a small company when all indications are that it may be robbed and looted, challenge the everyday understandings that life in Pissevin and Valdegour *must* be difficult and that residents choose to leave as soon as the cultural or economic capital enables them to do so. These examples are just that. Examples. They are examples that tell us that there *are* those who succeed in reconstructing Valdegour or Pissevin (or both) as home-places, places that bring comfort, pleasure, warmth and joy.

They are also places of memory for all those who were brought up in these neighbourhoods and this too tends to be erased by the discourse that presents these housing blocks as temporary. A resident of Pissevin since the early 1970s and an ex-teacher in the area, one respondent explains that:

We hear a lot about, you know: 'It is inhuman for people to live in these buildings that are falling apart'. There is a lot of silliness in these statements. The people who say it aren't bad but they are slightly silly. If they feel pity for the poor in the city, it isn't by saying things that will ultimately lead to more demolitions that they will make changes. Because when you say the buildings are crappy, you are saying: 'Wouldn't people be better off elsewhere?' So you take away all the

memories that come with the buildings, with the neighbourhood. It is a collective thing that the residents have in common but if the region decides to... well if they knock it down, it goes away. But I understand, if you look at the towers, you can't really think: 'Well, this must be a place that people have affection for'. I understand why people would want to see them torn down, but it is like if someone came to your house and knocked it down because they thought, well, it is a bit crappy. So, where your children grew up, where your wife meets her friends and all that, all that has no meaning beyond your house so why not get rid of it if its ugly.

In this long quote, the resident is apprehensive about discourses that present pity for the residents of estates who are made to live in buildings with unpleasant physical appearances. This, he believes, further legitimates the current rhetoric of demolition, something that can be justified because it is 'for the good of the residents'. What the resident wishes to express is that the buildings appear to outsiders as unattractive concrete blocks and this is further constituted as a source of despair for the residents. The fact that these are the homes of people with families and that, notwithstanding a decrepit outside appearance, the apartments inside may be perfectly liveable, is entirely forgotten in discourses of demolition and 'renovation'. The aesthetic of the buildings is understood in different ways by some residents. A woman from Valdegour explains that she was sad when the authorities tore down the Archimède block in Valdegour. Her cousins lived there in the 1980s in light of these recent demolitions, she recalls all her fond memories of the place:

[T]hey say it is nice because without Archimède you can see more of the sky and stuff like that. But all those memories, all those families with all those stories. Basically, it has all gone. I don't think they were worth anything beyond Valdegour. So no, I don't think it is nicer or prettier now.

This once again suggests that some residents actually wish to reside in the stigmatised housing estates. The participant is another example of someone whose choice has been to remain active in the estate of Valdegour even though her financial situation and that of her

husband would enable them to leave. Of course, it could be interpreted that these choices are not really choices at all. It might be said that those who choose not to move from the *cités* have in fact internalised the stigmatic language to such an extent that they know they would feel uncomfortable and 'out of place' conducting their daily lives outside of it. This is an important consideration and one that I will address in the next sub-section.

7.5.2 – Appropriating and reworking the language of stigma

As I manoeuvred between the narratives of residents I was regularly exposed to people referring back to the technocratic language of the past. References to the 'ZUP nord' and the 'ZUP sud' were frequent. What is more, I observed another tendency which was to create counter identities as non-Nîmois. Many of the younger residents told me to think of them as *ZUPéens* (or *ZUSéens*), not Nîmois. In some instances, the definition of oneself as from the ZUP was explained in terms that emphasised multiple points of belonging as well as departures from belonging to 'Frenchness':

Some French people live here, it's true. [...] But basically, it's just Arabs and blacks and when we go to Nîmes, they look at us bizarrely because they know we're from the ZUP. [...] The ZUP sticks to your skin. You can't be properly French when you're from here [...] And honestly, I don't care at all because I'm from Pissevin, I'm Moroccan [...] They don't want us so I don't want them.

A slightly younger respondent expressed feelings which were quite clearly directed at reinforcing the separating between *cité* residents and those who had not learnt how to cope under its constraints.

A: The full measure of what it is to live here, you can't understand it unless it happens to you. And then you'd expect that I'd be like... it is shit right? Well no. I think people should know that we love life in the ghetto. *Putain*, it is brilliant. It is awesome here. [...] [But] you have to be born here to survive in it. You need to

learn a lot. It isn't like just going to your neighbours mansion twice a year. People here, they have all these rules and stuff [...] Those who've been here long enough, we like it here.

PK: Would you say you are proud to be from here?

A: Sure! I mean I'm saying you need to know the ropes. [...] The ZUP is our home. I'm a ZUPéen, and so is my neighbour. We're all Zupéens, even the elderly, the babies, the women, the working people... We don't think of ourselves as other than from the ZUP.

Later in our discussion, the man explained that those who had recently been moved into the neighbourhood would eventually "find it too tough and just leave". The idea that to be a resident of an urban policy priority space is something which requires specific 'street' knowledge and grounded understandings is a phenomenon which is experienced by some of those who reside in poverty neighbourhoods throughout the world as a source of pride (Hagedorn, 2008). This resounds with what Manuel Castells (2004 [1997]: 9) has called the "exclusion of the excluders by the excluded".

In younger generations, the pride emanated directly from the negative representations. To have grown up in Pissevin or Valdegour notwithstanding what was said about these places was perceived as a sign of inner worth and individual adaptability. Appropriating the apparently negative word in a way which was open to definition was one of the most common linguistic forms of play that I encountered. The words 'ghetto', '*banlieue*' or '*cité*' became used in ways which were clearly meant to exclude me as researcher and those who have not resided within these spaces.

When asked about crime in the area, most residents described the *cités* as safe. It was thus intriguing to listen to the younger generations talking inside the headquarters of associations while they insisted on describing the *cité* in words that fitted the stigmatising images that are produced outside their worlds. It is tempting to see in the attitudes of these residents

and in the discussions that they had with non-residents, such as myself or social workers, an attempt to throw back the 'ghetto' image at those who have constructed it. It is in some way as though they perform an identity which has been scripted for them. Meanwhile, they are intent on disavowing the negative imagery that accompanies these identities, treating them as inexistent, mythical, made up. The process of performance and denial has led to a reframing of the terms which were originally affixed to the space of the housing estates. Younger residents seemed to thrive off the image of being the 'Other' and in so doing, positioned themselves in visible spaces where they could be recast as central occupiers and 'owners' of the *cit  *. Middle aged residents used similar re-categorisations. For instance, with the phrase "I am going to N  mes to do some shopping", Valdegour or Pissevin are reconstituted as cities in themselves in a move which demonstrates the rejection of any core/periphery theorisation.

7.5.3 - Territorial appropriations of *banlieue* spaces

Banlieues spaces are depicted in mainstream media and discourse as veritable no-go zones into which few dare to venture. The neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour are no exception. Wednesday is the only day when non-residents undertake a brief visit to Pissevin. A market takes place in the main square of the neighbourhood. A further testimony to the ways in which such areas are cast as 'outside' lies in the name that this market is given by non-residents. Indeed, the '*march   Arabe*', the Arab market, is now known in most of N  mes and its labelling casts the weekly event as one located beyond the borders of Frenchness. One respondent from the city of N  mes made clearly made this point in an interview:

I felt I was abroad. It is phenomenal in terms of price, it is incredible. Very, very competitive. And it is very fun. It was a little like tourism because it is clearly an Arab market in an Arab neighbourhood [...]. I didn't want to go alone.



The weekly market in Pissevin's main square (*Source: photo by the author*).

The final comment about fearing to venture into Pissevin alone is an important one. Although the market does attract people to the neighbourhood, this is usually accompanied by feelings of unease by visitors. The anxieties of non-residents are clearly accompanied by curiosity for a part of the city that is relatively mysterious and the representations of which are mostly stigmatising. I visited the market one morning in the company of four family acquaintances. It was their first visit to the neighbourhood and they had numerous questions to ask.

The time spent in these *cités* by non-residents who visit the market is extremely limited. Having driven in, it is unthinkable that these weekly visitors might wander into the rest of the *cité*. Instead, they follow the neat row of the market stalls before returning to their parked cars. Here is an entry from my note-taking on the morning of Wednesday 17th of February 2010:

"A number of the market stalls sell cheap clothing. Veiled women stop by them and talk with vendors. A couple with huge basket stop and shake their heads at the shoes with a smile. (11:47am)"

Another entry was made in respect to the parking lot outside the supermarket in Pissevin, a parking lot that gets unusually clogged on market days:

"Medium to nice car brands today. Hectic parking. Not many people going to the supermarket. Man with Renault is back after what cannot be more than ten minutes. Not clear what he bought but he has a plastic bag. (10:00am)"

Other observations revealed that the visitors are indeed only temporary. There is little reason why they should stroll away from the line of market stalls and thus their itinerary is fixed and clearly delineated. Some, like the man in his Renault, appear to have learnt where to go in order to get to the specific desired goods. I am aware of a number of people who would, for instance, regularly visit Pissevin market for the large bushy clumps of coriander that can be bought at a much cheaper price than anywhere else in the city. The 'foreignness' of the sought after foodstuff, which is usually associated with North African cuisine in France, is another demonstration of the way in which the market is constituted as a foreign space. The only other 'visitors' to the neighbourhoods, other than social workers and occasional emergency doctors, are the police whose presence is also only ever transitive and motorised (see Stébé 2005). In contrast to this, the ability to walk through the neighbourhood, to know its every nook and cranny is a sure statement of the appropriation of territory; the spaces are consumed in ways that highlight the tactical appropriations which is made of them (de Certeau, 1984). The difference between insider and outsider can often be spotted by those in search of an absent street sign or those incapable of finding the footbridge or underpass that would otherwise allow them to reach another building or public space. One man, after several meetings, informed me that my 'style of walking' through the neighbourhood positioned me as a clear outsider. Not only did I look lost, but I demonstrated signs of unease at times that highlighted me as foreign. Half humorously, he briefly set about 'teaching me' to 'relax' and to walk casually.



A group of children playing football on the pavement while parents stand by and watch.

Tactical appropriations of space were at work in several other ways. Men and women of all ages congregate in the public squares in Valdegour and Pissevin, sitting on benches, under trees or on grassy patches. The elderly talk passionately, saluting each other, pausing for long chats at all hours of the day. Families encounter other families outside Pissevin's Marc Bernard library, on the Claude Debussy square. A group of youths use plastic bins as goal posts and block off a street for use as a football pitch, only stopping to let scooters or cars pass. Without the given 'knowledge' that Pissevin and Valdegour are threatening places inhabited by deviant populations, and without a script enabling non-residents to read the tower blocks of the stigmatised *banlieues*, there is nothing that differentiates everyday life in Valdegour and Pissevin from that which goes on in the old city-centre. Residents of all backgrounds and ages seem to evolve in these settings in ways that are not only harmonious, but that would fail to stand out from the given 'norm' were it not for an imposed way of reading the landscape. One group that is particularly understood as deviant is composed of the (mostly male) adolescents and young adults that come up repeatedly in literature on *banlieues* (Bachmann 1993; Lepoutre 2001 [1997]; Sauvadet 2004; Roché 2006).



Street occupation: young men watch while a group of older men has a heated exchange in Arabic

Cité youths actively engage in making themselves visible in public spaces and thereby claim the space. They do so in public parks, in the street and at the front of the buildings within the neighbourhoods. Most commentators focus on the assumed threat that these young adults pose, on the noise that they create and on the simple fact that it is not 'normal' for youth to spend their days out of work, loitering and out of school. This has resulted in a law voted for "internal security" on the 18th of March 2003. It legislates the presence of people in stairwells and public access to buildings which clearly demarcates the legitimate use of space from that which is strange or unusual. Other examples of claiming space include the act of praying in streets to highlight the absence of a mosque in Pissevin.



Street signs indicating Valdegour and the Lumière et Piété mosque.

Finally, the commonality of practices of *détournement* signal the playfulness with which the neighbourhood is remade into something that should be protected, appreciated and taken pride in. One of these examples was shown to me in a picture by a respondent who was extremely amused by what he saw one day: A placard rests against a fence before the destruction of one of Valdegour's towers. It has evidently been attached there by the destruction company in order to keep people away. One must imagine what had once been written on the placard before its modification: "Chantier interdit au public", meaning that the construction/destruction site is forbidden to the public. The 'Ch' and 'n' have been erased and in their place a 'K' and an 'r' have been painted. The new meaning, "Kartier interdit au public" reveals the author's intention of forbidding the neighbourhood (the 'quartier' that has been written here in a playful simplified form) to the public. At a time when the author's neighbourhood was partly being demolished, this act of *détournement* is a sign of the possessive desire to keep the neighbourhood free from outsiders. It provides the viewer with an arresting message that is both amusing, memorable and moving as well as saying to all those who read it that, notwithstanding the stigma, this is "our" neighbourhood.

Sadly, graffiti can also act as a marker of nostalgia (Dilsizian 2007). Pride for one's neighbourhood is certainly not incompatible with the knowledge that it is suffering from disinvestment. Several shops have closed in Pissevin's shopping arcade and they are not being reinvested by new renters. Some of the premises are privately owned and others have been bought by the social landlord that runs most of the estate. Clearly, the neighbourhood's reputation is problematic in that few dare to open shops there. On one closed shutter, the face of a man is painted on with a graffiti that reads "Salut l'artiste!", which means 'Bye bye artist' but can also be read as 'see you around my friend' in French. When I asked who the man was, I was informed that he had once been a cobbler and that he had died. No-one has taken over the premises of his shop but he is remembered in this nostalgic street painting which celebrates Pissevin's past. On the stairs of the old gymnasium, closed because it was deemed unsafe, another graffiti reads "As you came, you will disappear; in our memories, you will stay" (*comme tu es venu, tu partiras; dans les mémoires tu resteras*), another reminder of the glorious past of the neighbourhood.



7.6 - Conclusion

Even though the stigmatisation of place is recognised as a major problem for those who live within it, this chapter has demonstrated that this is a concern which is shared by non-residents of *cités*. What is more, it has shown that there exists a variety of attempts to alleviate some of the material and symbolic consequences of neighbourhood stigma. There are those non-residents and residents of Pissevin and Valdegour who are profoundly engaged in the endeavour to reduce the negative representations that are linked to housing estates in Nîmes. Finding remedies to this creates a number of frustrations as working within a system that perpetuates neighbourhood inequalities is seen as oppressive and suffocating. The acts and efforts of social workers and volunteers are geared towards providing victims of territorial stigmatisation with the means to deal and cope more efficiently with some the consequences that this process unleashes. Crucially, this chapter also highlights the fact that conceptualisations and understandings that non-residents of housing estates come to 'know' about these places are no more than social constructs. Through the actions of mediators between *banlieue* spaces and the other parts of the city, the production of new 'knowledges' is enacted and enforced from the bottom up.

What the chapter has tried to address is central to the thesis as a whole. The argument here is that residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods should be considered with more attention than as merely the victims of domination. 'Weak actors' as they have been labelled by Payet *et al.* (2008), are not merely the victims of stronger dominating powers. They often find places in which to express a voice or make visible what others attempt to keep invisible (urban planners, for instance). Their actions, whether one chooses to consider them as resistive, transgressive or as ways of coping, leave indelible traces in the social and discursive worlds that are produced in our societies. The responses that residents of Pissevin and Valdegour put forward to counter stigmatising gazes are varied. The tactics that they resort to and their means of coping with the consequences of place stigma are fundamental even though they might well be regarded as unimportant by those wishing to measure the full

impact of domination in purely structural terms. Following Scott (1989: 50), I do not believe that these tactical responses are merely "trivial coping mechanisms". Evidently, the residents of French *banlieues*, and of Pissevin and Valdegour in particular, are the victims of an increasingly revanchist and neoliberal form of "republicanism" (see Dikeç 2007a, 2007b) that now has little or no need for the urban (sub)proletariat of the French housing estates. It is in no way my intention to ignore the hardships that *banlieues* and *cités* residents experience on a daily basis. Yet it is important to also explore the reactions, counter-discursive productions and means of coping that people living under the burden of prejudice can nonetheless develop. In all stigmatised places, people develop creative means of dealing with the harsh reality of their lives there.

Before explaining why an approach that is concerned with the micro-social events that constitute everyday life has relevance, I will state what these acts do *not* achieve. They have not as yet had the power to prevent the demolitions which have occurred in Valdegour and they do not prevent persistent address discrimination for *banlieues* residents in search of a job. They have not changed the fact that schooling is made problematic by under-funding. None of the residents with whom I spoke truly believe that these acts and tactics would result in an immediate change to the ways in which urban policy is produced and scripted. In performing these actions, however mundane, and of course through more organised resistance and political mobilisation which does occur regularly in these spaces (Kokoreff 2003), *banlieue* residents perpetually force a whole nation to reconsider certain aspects of daily life that are taken for granted and to rethink the texts that are written by institutions and urban planning. They participate in making visible aspects of the city that would otherwise have been left *invisible*. Although not all these actions literally 'give voice' they create paradoxical places, places that reproduce the positions of those who are 'out of place' in what can be regarded as self-fulfilling prophecies. Yet they do it in a way that quite clearly resonates with the idea that some *cité* dwellers are striking back at stigma and are unwilling to be its passive victims.

It remains to be said that these symbolic modes of resistance are in themselves a way of reproducing the conditions of domination which have served to keep their practitioners at

bay of mainstream society. Yet somehow, these actions, conducted outside the 'norm', also allow for considerations of the historical circumstances which, in enforcing strict inequalities in the city, have allowed for resistance to be necessary and inevitable. Marconot (1988) claims that the main problem with the neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour is that they have always been portrayed as incomplete and therefore inassimilable. Meanwhile, the residents cope with these facets of the neighbourhood and come to embody them with pride.

Chapter 8 - Concluding remarks: A right to the *cité*?

8.1 - Summary of the research findings

At the outset of this thesis, I stated that I was interested in successfully uncovering the dominant images and representations that condition the French population to instantly regard representations of a tainted *banlieue* landscape as something that lies outside the 'norm'. The social construction of these spaces, via discourses of vilification, securitisation and racialisation, has very tangible effects as it creates neighbourhoods that are imagined to be no-go zones, into which the police forces and even the fire brigade are unwelcome by residents. This consolidates the fact that very few non-residents of housing estates ever set foot in any urban policy designated 'sensitive urban zone', thus furthering the urban marginalisation of these neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, the only 'knowledge' that non-estate residents have of these places is determined by 'experts in cultural production' who express themselves through a variety of media (see Bourdieu 1994). All of this results in *banlieues* spaces taking the blame for breeding a different class of citizens who are broken down into two groups: the fearing, terrified *banlieue* resident who is 'the real victim'; and on the other side, the violent youth and their parents, the welfare scrounging populations who refuse to internalise the true values of Frenchness.

Some work has been conducted on tracing the origins of the 'blemish of place' in a variety of different contexts. The very concrete material effects of territorial stigmatisation are well known and the literature on this topic has grown considerably in recent years, both in France and in the rest of the world (e.g. Fortuin and van Kempen 1998; Gray and Mooney 2011; Jensen and Christensen 2012; Keene and Padilla 2010; Perlman 2004; Purdy 2003; Sernhede 2007, 2011; Slater and Anderson 2012; Wacquant 2007b). All of these studies make apparent the clear contextual variations between different neighbourhoods in a number of geographical environments with various historical backgrounds. They work well when read together insofar as few studies have actively attempted comparative urban studies on

territorial stigmatisation⁹³. Undeniably, territorial stigmatisation dictates patterns of state investment and disinvestment. In the case of Valdegour and Pissevin - as in any other French 'sensitive urban zone' - these patterns can be traced on a number of scales, ranging from the local and municipal level to the departmental, regional and national levels. All are determinant in defining the lives of the residents in these neighbourhoods. They also establish where neighbourhoods can position themselves (and are positioned by others) within these administrative scales, from Nîmes Métropole, to the *département* and to the larger *région* of Languedoc-Roussillon. Persistent address discrimination and everyday frustration at the often poor public transport facilities available to residents are but two consequences of the demonization of place⁹⁴. Stigma can also lead to the desire to 'fix' the neighbourhood in certain ways which, in the case of Valdegour, has meant 'renovation through demolition', formulated in policy documents as the 'opening up of spaces' to counteract the 'citadel effect' in place in the housing estate (FNOHLM 2007). Some respondents whose words have been transcribed in this thesis have clearly expressed their fears that the entire neighbourhood of Valdegour, with its beautiful views over the rest of the city, is set for an 'ultimate remodelling' that would lead to the reclaiming of prime real estate space. Such emotional reactions to what urban policy decisions produce as 'commonsensical' approaches to urban renewal are unexpected in a context where the entire neighbourhood is perceived and reproduced negatively by outsiders. That is what makes them so central to this thesis.

My interest in territorial stigmatisation as a process has also emanated from a desire to understand what the negative representations that are produced outside tainted places actually do to those who live in the so-called *banlieues*. With the material consequences of

⁹³ Wacquant's work, referenced throughout this thesis, is an obvious example of a comparative study of stigmatised neighbourhoods in two differing national contexts but it is important to keep in mind that the research results are over twenty years old. An important notable exception which attempts to challenge the study of tainted places through the lens of 'skid row' districts is Laura Huey's international comparative work on policing in Edinburgh, San Francisco and Vancouver. Although it does not tackle 'territorial stigmatisation' as such, it offers great insights onto the ways in which marginalisation is produced and then dealt with by residents of areas that are defined as severely problematic (Huey 2007).

⁹⁴ See Burquier (2004) for a review of public transport inside the city of Nîmes and of the vital importance that it represents to residents of Valdegour, Pissevin and the other housing estates.

stigmatisation and the lived realities of residents very much in mind, my interest throughout the research process has been geared towards both understanding the stories that people from housing estates tell to locate themselves, and to discover whether they feel any sense of attachment to places that are constituted as threatening and uninhabitable. I set about to gain a better insight into the multiple ways in which residents are exposed to stigmatising representations but also how they respond to these representations, whatever form they might take. In chapter 6, I have argued that to an extent, some residents can internalise negative stereotypes and experience fear, anxieties and feelings of ambivalence towards their neighbourhoods. In conceptualising the cités in this way, they reproduce the language of stigma that defines their place of residence. These residents resort to the coping mechanism of "lateral denigration and mutual distancing" (Wacquant 2008a: 240) in order to attribute the blame for territorial stigmatisation elsewhere. This can be said to be a consequence of power relations understood as domination versus submission. However, I have shown that this tactic reveals relations which are much more complex than this simplistic binary understanding of power would let us believe. As long as people are not actively trying to escape the housing estates - and according to a respondent working for the social landlord, Habitat du Gard, numbers are "low to moderate" - then it is difficult to say for certain that they really are affected by the fearful imagery. As such, *what is fundamental about strategies that consist in placing the blame elsewhere is that they begin to reveal that people feel some level of attachment to the specific neighbourhood that they reside in*. To say that the area in which one lives is only 'tainted' insofar as it lies close to other urban quarters is to display the uncomfortable reality that stigma can penetrate the minds of those most marginalised. Notwithstanding, it is also a demonstration of the potential failures of stigma where respondents fail to grasp precisely why their own neighbourhood or block of flats would be included among the 'bad places' (*mauvais quartiers*). In fact, as residents point fingers to other parts of the Pissevin, Valdegour, or to specific areas within either *cité*, they open up a defence of the virtuous nature of their own living space, tower-block or, indeed, their entire housing estate. In resorting to tactics of blame, a number of residents demonstrate that they do, in fact, care about the reputation of the specific part of the housing estate in which they reside. Jean-François Augoyard had already made these findings during discussions with housing estate residents outside Paris:

“Everyday language talks about a ‘feeling of being at home’ that meets with success or struggles to be successful or that fails, depending on the case at hand. One also hears, ‘This place feels good to me,’ ‘I feel good here,’ ‘I don’t feel rejected here’” (Augoyard 2007: 79).

I have insisted on the fact that the internalisation of stigma is not an either/or problem. Rather, whether they live in the neighbourhood or not, there are those who challenge the narrow conception of housing estates as deviant places 'on the margins' of French cities. This is of importance as it offers an alternative reading to *banlieues* as places that are populated by either deviant groups, or by people who have internalised negative representations and who are desperate to leave their home neighbourhood. In chapter 7, I built upon the diverse challenges to stigmatisation. The chapter began by exploring geographies of caring that are performed and enacted by social workers and people engaged in neighbourhood associations, whether they are residents of Pissevin and Valdegour or not. Although it has not developed this in great detail, I have insisted that caring roles are not restricted to social worker and volunteers. Indeed, doctors and nurses as well as teachers are vital actors who penetrate the neighbourhood's supposed fixed boundaries on a regular basis. The chapter then discussed neighbourhood committee attempts at placing the voices of residents on an equal level as that of others in Nîmes in order to best tackle social injustice in the cités. The very active re-writing of news in the housing estates with the dispersion of the Journal de Valdegour was discussed as an important way to re-represent neighbourhoods that are not usually discussed in positive lights in the local press⁹⁵.

The everyday, seemingly mundane acts of denying the existence of stigma or of appropriating housing estate spaces through a variety of ways, either effective or merely playful and affective, was discussed in the final part of this chapter. The possibility that resistance may be performed every day and routinely is one that is interesting as it once

⁹⁵ See Hargreaves (1994) for a discussion of the tag 'banlieue' in the French written press.

again positions housing estate residents as co-constructors of the representation of banlieues and not only as the passive victims of a dominating power.

8.2 - Limitations of the thesis and directions for future research

It is important to take note of a number of limitations that accompany the contributions that are made in this thesis. These should be taken to imply the possibility of future research on territorial stigmatisation in average-sized cities such as Nîmes. The first limitation is more of a caveat. Indeed, time has moved on since my periods of fieldwork and things have evolved in both Valdegour and Pissevin. A new middle school has been constructed in Pissevin with a number of up-to-date facilities. One of the respondents with whom I am still in contact has written saying that this has had a tremendous positive effect on residents in the surrounding area: "It was in all the papers and I think it can only modify the neighbourhoods' reputation for the best" (personal communication, 10-09-2012). Another communication received from an additional respondent in April 2013 has also been telling in that it reveals how much time itself is a vital factor for interviewees: "You should have been here last week. We had a minister over, not sure you know François Lamy. But it was really positive. Where is your research? I'd love to have stuff to show people like that." (Personal communication, 19-04-2013).

Valdegour has also been in the news in relation to violence, when a doctor was assaulted as he was visiting a patient at night. The reputation of this estate is increasingly stigmatised and the *Midi Libre* has written on several occasions about the attack (e.g. *Midi Libre* 2012e). The comments to these articles on the web-site of the daily newspaper are illustrative of the increasing racialisation and disgust that Nîmois feel for Valdegour. A further exploration of the divide between Valdegour and Pissevin could well have been elaborated upon. As Vieillard-Baron (2007) has noted, the reputation of Pissevin feeds off and constructs itself against Valdegour in the press and in the urban policy discussions. Whereas Pissevin is presented as having some future, albeit an unclear one, Valdegour's reputation ensures that the future will take the path of more demolitions (Mairie de Nîmes 2010; see also Zappi 2013).

This connects to another potential qualification that should be kept in mind while considering this thesis. My study was limited to two of the four housing estates located within Nîmes. In the first period of fieldwork, I visited Chemin-bas-d'Avignon and the Mas-de-Mingue on a number of occasions and my original intention was to attempt a comparison of all four neighbourhoods. The data that this would have generated would have been considerable, in particular considering the intensive efforts that are made to render Chemin-bas-d'Avignon suitable to the promotion of private ownership (Vieillard-Baron 2007). A discussion and comparison of Nîmes' four housing estates might well have provided a more detailed analysis of territorial stigmatisation.

A further aspect of the research that could be developed further is a closer attention to gender and age. I have specified the gender and the relative age of my participants when I have thought this to be relevant. However, I often did not to elaborate on the details as my enquiry was limited to a general appreciation of language use and its potential 'internalisation' and reproduction by residents of housing estates. It struck me throughout the research, that for a number of reasons the linguistic representations of place that my respondents enunciated were often fairly similar regardless of gender. This may well have been because the age group of the participants was determinant. Indeed, it has been suggested by some researchers that the youth in France's stigmatised *banlieues* have a distinct way of thinking space (Dubet 1987; Sauvadet 2004, 2006b). I believe there to be issues in adding to the differentiation between youth and others in the housing estates, not least because this may lead to furthering the imagined divide between a legitimate group and a deviant one inhabiting the *banlieues*. Of course, determining exactly when one stops being the stereotypical '*jeune de cité*' to become an 'adult' (ie. not burning cars during riots anymore) is an exercise that is practically impossible, if not absurd. However, it is regrettable that I did not engage with residents of a younger age (the youngest participant was 24 at the time of the interview). The opportunity came up on a number of occasions but the ethics committee that signed off on this project did so under the condition that no minors were to be involved. An entirely different series of ethics forms would have been required and the project may have ended up looking markedly different to the way it currently stands.

Ultimately, the inclusion of the stigmatised *jeunes de banlieue* are restricted in this thesis to observations that I made of youth in public places, inside the Marc Bernard library and within the premises of local associations.

This point leads me to highlight another limitation of this thesis relating to the relatively small population size of my respondents. Although, I have made claims to that some of my conclusions could be applied more generally, it needs to be underlined that 39 people cannot speak for France's housing estates, or indeed for the housing estates in the city of Nîmes. There are immense differences between the ways that social housing neighbourhoods are regarded depending on the city, the region and the nature of rumour. Scale matters and needs to be taken into full account (Musterd 2008). In *Urban Outcasts* (2008a), Loïc Wacquant alerts us to the importance of scale, structure and function in his assessments of the US ghetto and the French *banlieue* but these concerns need to be reapplied when studying stigmatised spaces outside of any international comparisons. Notwithstanding, this thesis hopes to have presented a testable hypothesis. The research presented here is intended to provide a 'snapshot' of the language used when reference is made to a home or neighbourhood that is stigmatised and it is hoped that it underlines the importance of belonging for many French housing estate residents⁹⁶.

In an attempt to find a method that is more 'morally aware' and 'non-hierarchical' (Pain 2004: 652), I would have liked to involve interviewees further into the project by making them 'participate' alongside me. On top of keeping diaries of their everyday experiences within the banlieues, I would have tried to ask these participants to take pictures (with a camera phone, or a throwaway camera) every time that they would have felt that they were exposed and confronted to a representation which they perceived to be one of their neighbourhoods. In that way, it might have transpired that I was trying to let the residents do the observation themselves in order to rediscover and rethink their places of residence and the multiple levels of representations which could be made about them. Some of these representations come in forms that are other than visual – smell, sound and music for

⁹⁶ This was similarly depicted in Hyra (2008), where New York's Harlem and Chicago's Bronzeville residents describe their neighbourhoods in particularly affective ways.

example. While keeping in mind the cautions which have been offered by a number of theorists about using photographic methods inappropriately because “all photos lie” (Goldstein 2007; see also Emmison 2004), for the purposes of answering my research question, I believe it would have been suitable to limit the exercise to visual representation. I would have left it up to each participant to determine the scale and nature of their home and place of belonging. Thus, this might have allowed for a number of illuminating insights into how each resident ‘copes’ with everyday life in a stigmatised neighbourhood and where it is that a boundary is set between comfort zones within it.

I feel that I have adequately dealt with my initial research question but that visual techniques would have been useful in addition to the methods that I have used. They would be helpful in determining how representations fit into the broader discursive structures that (re)produce the banlieues and how these contribute to territorial stigmatisation. There is also a possibility that some of the pictures taken by residents would have in fact opposed processes of stigmatisation and this would in turn have contributed to highlighting the intense complexity of the banlieue as a place of multiple meanings. Ultimately, less ‘conservative’ methods such as these would open up the possibility of an analysis that could have included more about how the neighbourhoods are felt and I could have developed the affective atmospheres included in these spaces. The almost total absence of references to work on ‘affect’ and place is a shortcoming of this thesis that can be explained by time and size limitations⁹⁷.

Although this is more a potential risk than a limitation, it is important to insist that this thesis should not be misconstrued as a glorification of ‘agency’ in the face of social inequality. It is not intended to signify the uselessness of public policies aimed at assisting the poor and nor is it intended to present a romanticised vision of housing estates as unhindered by state disinvestment, the controlling gaze of outsiders and the neighbourhood reputation. In effect, the belief in cité residents’ ability to resist stigma is one that needs to go hand in hand with the certitude that territorial stigmatisation is a profoundly harmful process. To present

⁹⁷ I would like to thank Dan Swanton for reminding me to think more closely about affective geographies in relation to this thesis.

housing estate residents as 'agents, not objects' (see Howarth 2006) is to underline their reactive capacities and the fact that they are capable of understanding stigmatising situations and their consequences.

8.3 - Implications of the research findings

The findings of my research suggest a number of implications for scholarly work on territorial stigmatisation. Jamie Pearce (2012) has noted that there has been little research on the "broader concerns relating to how local residents become 'contaminated' by their area of residence" (p.1922). I certainly hope that this thesis has taken us one step closer towards this objective. I also think there are a series of important points that the thesis makes which can be enabling for studies of the 'blemish of place'. First, regarding the specific case of France, the thesis has shown that *banlieues* - understood as the peripheral areas of cities - have always been tainted places, 'places on the margin' that have inspired fear and fascination in equal measure. It is fair to say that they have also been associated with particular deviant groups. These have at various times been the sick and the immoral during the Medieval period, the poor and uneducated in the nineteenth century, the working class left in the early twentieth century and, in recent years, with the descendants of postcolonial migrants and with the rise of Islam. Of course, it would be possible to say that the population groups themselves are stigmatised for whichever 'mark' they are thought to carry. It is certainly the case that residents of French housing estates are regularly linked to their origins through expressions such as 'second or third generation immigrant' and the *banlieues* are clearly racialised today in ways that are relatively recent. Notwithstanding, the places themselves are part and parcel of negative representations and the simple uttering of a place name, such as Pissevin or La Courneuve, can lead to mental and emotional associations that come to signify the range of stigmatic imagery that I have discussed throughout this thesis. In short, this thesis acts as a reminder that links between the *banlieues* and the 'problem of immigration' are fairly recent and that stigmatised *banlieues* themselves have long served as parking grounds for whichever disqualified groups have evolved inside French society. However, the thesis demonstrates to what extent the contemporary imagining of housing estates are bound up with ideas of race. This is

something that has not been stressed enough, with the exception of Sylvie Tissot's (2007b) comments about *Urban Outcasts*, and it is a substantial critique to work on territorial stigmatisation as it currently stands. Undeniably, and although this has been denied by Loïc Wacquant (2011) during a conference in Porto, race matters just as much as class and contributes to the further advancement of urban marginality in France.

Relating to this point, the thesis has shown that the word '*banlieue*' itself has become a mere buzzword with no accurate geographic definition. Literally meaning 'suburb', it has come to signify any area that fits the description evoked by the respondent in the opening lines of the thesis. Once again, these landscapes have evolved too, as I shown in chapter 4. From the peripheral *faubourgs* to the slums of the mid-twentieth century to the modernist architecture of the 1960s, certain types of landscape have evolved into marks of stigma and visual triggers for a series of emotional responses by non-residents of these places. Today, the sight of Pissevin and Valdegour's tower blocks conjure up an array of symbols and connotations, leading some to equate the housing estates with other buzzwords, such as 'ghetto'.

Third, the thesis makes a case for research that distances itself from the paradigmatic cities and housing estates that have been the focus of much attention in scholarly works (e.g. the Cité des 4000 in La Courneuve). The fact that '*banlieue*' has become a generic buzzword is in part a consequence of the study of these renowned neighbourhoods. In effect, the territorial stigma endured by places like La Courneuve are rolled out to other neighbourhoods, influencing urban theory in ways that involve potential dangers such as developing one-size-fits-all solutions to urban marginality. Urban theory and urban policy must be geared towards the recognition of the diversity of activities and interests within cities and in areas where the urban poor reside. As Jennifer Robison (2002, 2005, 2008) explains, stating that all cities are 'ordinary' works hand in hand with a refusal to consider cities within a hierarchical system of relationships. Not only does a concern for 'smaller' cities divert the gaze from the paradigmatic examples of neighbourhood stigma, it also encourages the adoption of a perspective that insists on the unique and heterogeneous social, political, cultural, institutional and economic qualities of urban areas (Amin and Graham 1997; Bell and Jayne

2009). It also requires the recognition of the diversity of experiences in ordinary cities (Robinson 2002: 532; see also Suzanne Hall 2013), which can ultimately broaden our general understanding of cities and of their futures.

The findings presented in the thesis speak to other work that has denounced urban inequality. Disinvestment is a powerful reality in Nîmes' housing estates. This has evident consequences on the levels of dilapidation of tower blocks. Externally, the façades can begin to seem a little worn and internally, it is not uncommon for elevators or mail boxes to be broken, leading to daily frustrations for residents who pay often substantial percentages of their income as rent to social housing landlords. I have insisted upon the material consequences of territorial stigmatisation that can affect resident self-esteem, life chances and capacity for collective action. The thesis also shows that associations have very important roles to play in the lives of social housing residents today and the cuts that have been advocated recently could have deeply damaging results. When investments have been made in neighbourhood 'renovation' programmes, this has usually been done without any real consultation with residents. There are important implications for urban policy which has seemed to regard residents as unable to make reflective, thoughtful decisions. Without even going so far as advocating Henri Lefebvre's *auto-gestion* (2001: 771, 777)⁹⁸, a greater demand for inclusivity in decision-making is evident in the responses contained in this thesis. Residents desire a greater role in determining how allocated funds should be spent on their neighbourhood and on setting priorities that truly matter to them.

The fact that the preferences of residents are not considered is undeniably an important consequence of the taint that neighbourhoods spread to those living within them. Thought to be invested mainly by the urban poor, the housing estates are considered to be limiting to the capabilities of residents who, in turn, are not regarded as reasonable and rational enough to participate in decision-making processes. This is a process that has already been well described by de Decker and Pannecoucke (2004) in Flanders but it is also very much at work in Nîmes and in the rest of France. Urban policy has shifted to a state where it is

⁹⁸ This was actually practiced with positive results in the late 1970s and the early 1980s (see Genestier 1999).

enacted in the supposed best interests of residents while choosing to ignore their voices. In the words of Stephen Steinberg, "a policy predicated on the claim that the demolition of their homes will advance the interests of the very people whose homes are being destroyed is a preposterous sham" (quoted in Slater 2013).

This thesis has tried to contribute conceptually to studies of territorial stigmatisation involves the insistence upon the fact that residents are cognisant agents capable of measuring the effects of stigma and that they often develop coping strategies that are enabling, at the very least. This is something which has been ignored by research conducted on advanced urban marginality by Loïc Wacquant whose assertion that residents internalise the language of stigma runs the risk of reproducing residents of housing estates as 'incapable tenants'. Indeed, Wacquant's work develops a view of social housing residents which can at times seem a little too deterministic. Pierre Bourdieu's influence is palpable in his depictions of *cité* residents as dominated groups. Indeed, Bourdieu has been severely criticised by a number of other thinkers for the little agency that he gives to the so-called 'dominated' and to the little confidence that he has for such groups to escape their social conditions (Grunberg and Schweisguth 1996). For Luc Boltanski (2009), once a regular collaborator to Pierre Bourdieu's work, the impossibility of emancipation is a fundamental problem which, like Jacques Rancière (2010 [1983]), he attributes to Bourdieu's critical sociology itself. Their critique of Bourdieu is that he seems to hold true that 'ordinary people' are "opposed to the logic of thought" (Bourdieu 1980: 135), signalling that because they are limited by their common sense, *they do not think*. 'Ordinary people' are the mere objects of the sociologist and there is little scope for them ever becoming active agents. Not only are the dominated limited materially and intellectually, but they are theorised as being comfortable with these limitations (Bourdieu 1984). In my own work, I have tried to illustrate the agency and capacities of the supposedly 'dominated' residents of housing estates (Kirkness 2014). Caroline Howarth (2006) argues that it is vital to position the stigmatised as agents rather than objects. She adds that:

"It is equally important we do not overstate the case that stigma cannot be resisted, disrupted and even transformed. Such an analysis would collude with

stigmatizing representations that position the stigmatized as 'object', as passive, as victim, leave the social inequalities of stigma intact and so deny the real human capacities of dialogue, debate and agency" (Howarth 2006: 449).

The many hours that I have spent observing people, in associations but also in the streets, shops and other public places allowed me to recognise that Pissevin and Valdegour are ordinary, even rather mundane places. Relationships between people and the environment take place in much the same way that they would in Nîmes' other neighbourhoods. In the last sentences of *The Asian Gang* (2000), Claire Alexander states that if the contents of her book might have appeared "rather mundane and ordinary then I think that is not such a bad thing - perhaps indeed it is the most important thing" (p.251). Similarly, if my research can help to reposition Pissevin and Valdegour as ordinary neighbourhoods in the city of Nîmes and to erase some of the stigmatic imagery that attaches to these places, then I have been successful.

The research has shown that territorial stigmatisation can be channelled and that it can even resisted by some residents of what I have called 'tainted places'. In effect, *some inhabitants actually cling on to the neighbourhood because it offers the capacity to resist* (see hooks 1990a, 1990b). The taint of living in a housing estates located within Nîmes is not something that is experienced evenly by all those who live there. Everyday life in these so-called *banlieues* is practiced by residents in ways that are significantly different from the expectations that have been built up over decades of stigmatisation produced and reproduced outside these areas. This implies that attention must be given to the capacity of residents to rearticulate the meanings that they attribute to their neighbourhood and to their home. In the words of bell hooks, this would "offer the possibility of radical perspectives from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds" (hooks 1990a: 341). The words of Michel Foucault resonate with the optimism that these stances, actions and performances can be seen to open up:

"so many things can be changed, fragile as they are, bound up more with circumstances than with necessities, more arbitrary than self-evident, more a

matter of complex, but temporary, historical circumstances than with inevitable anthropological constraints" (Foucault 1988: 156).

A quote from Linda McKenzie's research in St. Ann's, Nottingham, is illustrative of the main implication of the work presented here:

"What is not widely discussed is how the spatial concentration of poor groups within poor neighbourhoods also acts as a buffer against stigma for the whole community, and therefore boosts local social capital within the neighbourhood. Some might argue that these things are not resources at all, rather methods of 'coping'. However, these resources are of use-value for the community, which should not be underestimated because the research in St Anns spanning 40 years tells us that local community, and local resources, are important to residents, especially through times of adversity" (McKenzie 2012: 472).

This is a vital point and one that is particularly applicable to Pissevin and Valdegour. Residents often display strong feelings of attachment to their place of residence, something that Tom Slater (2013) describes as 'emplacement'. This signals that the enforcement of policies designed to clear *banlieue*-spaces, supposedly for the good of these residents, is clearly misguided (see also Arthurson 2004; Crump 2002; Faure 2006; Goetz 2003). Simply put, it is wrong to take away from residents of housing estates the possibility that they may be comfortable where they live and be strongly attached to the neighbourhood. It is my hope that readers of this thesis will believe, like me, that residents of French housing estates have a fundamental right to the *cité*: the right to live there and the right to shape its possible futures.

Appendix 1: List of participants

Interview categories

N°	Type of interview	Gender	Resident?	Category
1	Group	Female	No	Association
2	Group	Female	Yes	Association
3	Group	Female	Yes	Association
4	Group	Female	Yes	Association
5	Group	Male	Yes	Association (2 interviews)
6	Group	Male	Yes	Association
7	Ind.	Female	Yes	Association (2 interviews)
8	Ind.	Female	Yes	Association
9	Ind.	Female	Yes	Association
10	Ind.	Female	Yes	Association
11	Ind.	Female	Yes	Association
12	Ind.	Female	Yes	Association
13	Ind.	Female	No	Association
14	Ind.	Female	No	Association
15	Ind.	Female	No	Association
16	Ind.	Female	No	Association
17	Ind.	Female	No	Association
18	Ind.	Female	No	Association
19	Ind.	Male	Yes	Association
20	Ind.	Male	Yes	Association
21	Ind.	Male	Yes	Association
22	Ind.	Male	Yes	Association
23	Ind.	Male	Yes	Association
24	Ind.	Male	No	Association
25	Ind.	Male	Yes	Association
26	Ind.	Male	Yes	Elite
27	Ind.	Male	No	Elite
28	Ind.	Male	No	Elite
29	Ind.	Male	No	Elite
30	Ind.	Male	No	Elite
31	Ind.	Male	No	Elite
32	Ind.	Male	No	Elite
33	Pair	Female	Yes	Resident
34	Pair	Female	Yes	Resident
35	Pair	Female	Yes	Resident
36	Pair	Female	Yes	Resident
37	Married couple /pair	Male	No	Neighbour
38	Married couple /pair	Female	No	Neighbour

39	Pair	Male	No	Shop assist.
40	Pair	Female	No	Shop assist.
41	Ind.	Female	Yes	Resident
42	Ind.	Female	Yes	Resident
43	Ind.	Female	Yes	Resident
44	Ind.	Female	Yes	Resident
45	Ind.	Female	Yes	Resident
46	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident (2 interviews)
47	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident (2 interviews)
48	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
49	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
50	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
51	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
52	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
53	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
54	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
55	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
56	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
57	Ind.	Male	Yes	Resident
58	Ind.	Female	No	Social worker
59	Ind.	Female	No	Social worker
60	Ind.	Female	No	Social worker
61	Ind.	Male	No	Social worker
62	Ind.	Male	No	Neighbour
63	Ind.	Male	No	Neighbour
64	Ind.	Male	No	Neighbour
65	Ind.	Male	No	Neighbour

Appendix 2: Consent form

You are invited to participate in a research project conducted by Paul Kirkness of the University of Edinburgh.

Object of the research: To discover how residents of a stigmatised *cité* (estate), in one of France's *banlieues* (suburbs), speak about this place. The research aims to compare the lived reality of life in a *cité* with what is said in the press or in political debates and speeches.

Why you?: You were identified as a possible participant because: (a) you are someone that Paul Kirkness has worked with before; b) you have been identified as a person of importance in your neighbourhood; (c) another participant thought that your experiences would be relevant to the study.

Confidentiality: Your identity and all comments made during the interview process will remain confidential. Transcripts from the interviews will not contain your name and you may be given a pseudonym to ensure that any comments used in the project are anonymous. This consent form will be kept separately from the transcripts.

Access to the results: This research is being done as part of University research, and will be used for academic purposes only. It will end up in a written dissertation and may be published in academic journals.

Your participation: Interviews should take between 1 and 2 hours. Interviews may be taped and will be transcribed. You will be given a copy of the transcription, and you may edit or clarify these if you feel it is necessary. The interview will be about your experiences of everyday life in the *cité* of which you are a resident.

The Researcher: Paul Kirkness is a postgraduate student with the University of Edinburgh. He is funded by the University of Edinburgh.

Do you have to say 'yes'?: Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You can take part and later decide not to, if you wish. You can also stop the interview at any time, for any reason. If there is a topic that you don't want to talk about, or a question that you don't want to answer, you have the right to stop the interview or move on to another question.

If at any time you are unhappy with this project, you can contact Paul Kirkness' supervisor, Professor Lynn Staeheli, at The Institute of Geography, University of Edinburgh, Drummond Street, Edinburgh EH8 9XP. Alternatively, you can email her at lynn.staeheli@ed.ac.uk. All correspondence will be handled confidentially.

One signed copy of this consent form will be kept by you, and another will be kept securely in Professor L. Staeheli's office (see above).

I understand the above information and voluntarily consent to participate in this project about territorial stigmatisation in France's *banlieues*.

Signature of Participant _____ Date _____

Signature of Researcher _____ Date _____

La stigmatisation territoriale et les 'zones urbaine sensibles' en France

Vous êtes invité à participer au projet de recherche mené par Paul Kirkness de l'Université d'Édimbourg.

Objet de la recherche : Il s'agit de découvrir comment les résidents d'une cité de banlieue stigmatisée parlent de cet endroit. La recherche s'attache à comparer la réalité de la vie dans une cité avec ce qui est présenté dans la presse ou les discours politiques.

Confidentialité : Votre identité ainsi que les commentaires que vous ferez au cours de l'entretien resteront confidentiels. Votre nom n'apparaîtra sur la transcription de l'entretien que si vous le désirez. Vous pourrez choisir un pseudonyme afin de garantir l'anonymat des commentaires utilisés dans le document final de la recherche. Ce formulaire de consentement sera séparé des transcriptions.

Accès aux résultats : Ce projet est réalisé dans le cadre d'une recherche universitaire dont les résultats ne seront utilisés que dans le milieu académique. Ils seront publiés dans une thèse de doctorat prenant la forme d'une dissertation et pourront également paraître dans des revues académiques.

Votre participation : Les entretiens pourront être enregistrés et seront transcrits. Vous recevrez une copie de la transcription et vous aurez ainsi l'occasion de clarifier vos propos si vous en ressentez le besoin. Au cours de l'entretien, nous parlerons de vos expériences quotidiennes au sein de votre cité de résidence.

L'Enquêteur : Paul Kirkness, actuellement attaché à l'Université d'Édimbourg où il réalise son doctorat. Il est financé par le département de Géographie Humaine de l'université.

Êtes-vous dans l'obligation de dire 'oui' ? : Votre participation à ce projet de recherche est entièrement volontaire. Vous pouvez accepter d'en faire partie en restant libre d'annuler plus tard si vous le décidez. Vous pouvez aussi arrêter l'entretien à tout moment. S'il existe un sujet que vous ne voulez pas aborder ou une question à laquelle vous ne souhaitez pas répondre, vous pouvez mettre fin à l'entretien ou demander à passer à une autre question.

Si, à tout moment, vous aviez un problème avec ce projet, vous pourrez contacter la directrice de thèse de Paul Kirkness, Professeur Lynn Staeheli, The Institute of Geography, University of Edinburgh, Drummond Street, Edinburgh EH8 9XP, Ecosse, Grande Bretagne.

Il est également possible de lui envoyer un email : lynn.staeheli@ed.ac.uk. Toute correspondance restera entièrement confidentielle.

Vous garderez une copie signée de ce formulaire. Une autre copie sera rangée dans les archives du Professeur L. Staeheli, directrice de thèse de Paul Kirkness (voir ci-dessus).

J'ai bien pris connaissance de l'information ci-dessus et je consens volontairement à participer à ce projet sur la stigmatisation territoriale en France.

Signature du Participant _____ Date

Signature de l'Enquêteur _____ Date

Appendix 3: Interview guides⁹⁹

1) For residents of Pissevin and Valdegour

Personal background:

- Would you be comfortable telling me your age group?
- Where did you grow up?
 - *[If abroad]* - When did you move to France? Did you move to Nîmes directly? When exactly did you move to Pissevin or Valdegour?
 - *[If away from Nîmes in France]* - How did your family end up moving here? When exactly did you move to Pissevin or Valdegour?
- Do you have a partner? Children?
- Are you currently employed? Is your job based in the city of Nîmes?
- Where did you go to school?

Everyday life in Pissevin or Valdegour:

- Do you have family living in either Pissevin or Valdegour?
- Do you often see family living outside Pissevin and Valdegour? Do you have to go to see them or are they happy to make the trip to Pissevin or Valdegour?
- Do you own a car or do you rely on public transport to get around Nîmes?
- Do you have friends who live out of Nîmes or in other neighbourhoods within Nîmes? Do you often visit them? Do they come and visit you in Pissevin or Valdegour?
- Do you have family or friends living in Mas-de-Mingue or Chemin Bas d'Avignon¹⁰⁰?
- What sort of relationships do you have with other residents of this neighbourhood? How would you describe neighbourhood relationships in general?
- How often do you travel to Nîmes' historic centre? For what purpose?
- How would you describe the shopping facilities that exist in your neighbourhood?

⁹⁹ All guides presented here are translated from French.

¹⁰⁰ The other two urban policy designated 'sensitive urban zones' (ZUS) located in Nîmes.

- Do you attend shows in Valdegour's cultural centre? Do you use the library in Pissevin?
 - Have you - or anyone you know - had dealings with the social centre in Pissevin?
 - Do you believe the city of Nîmes is doing enough in terms of providing for the neighbourhood? Do you feel that people from the town hall are absent/relatively present/very present? What would you like them to do in the neighbourhood?
 - How would you assess state presence and involvement in this neighbourhood?
 - What relationship do the neighbourhoods have with the police that are based in Valdegour?
 - Do you or any of your friends and family visit one of the neighbourhood associations? Do you feel that the associations are providing a decent service? Why do you think there are so many associations in these neighbourhoods?
- [If religion has been mentioned in the interview]* - Do you attend one of the places of worship here in the neighbourhoods?

Neighbourhood reputation and stigma:

- How would you describe your neighbourhood to an outsider?
 - How did you feel when I asked you to do this? What were the first words that came to mind?
- [If respondent has grown up in the estate]* - How would you describe the reputation that your neighbourhood has acquired? Do you believe that this reputation has any foundation? How do you think this reputation was created?
- Do you remember what the reputation of your neighbourhood was when you were growing up?
 - Are there specific parts of either neighbourhood that you identify with more than others?
- [If recently moved to the estate]* - How would you describe the reputation that your neighbourhood has acquired? Do you believe that this reputation has any foundation? How do you think this reputation was created?
- Before moving here, did you have an idea of the sort of reputation that your neighbourhood was known for?

- Did you know people who resided in either Valdegour or Pissevin before moving here?
- What did your friends and family think of your moving to this neighbourhood?
- What was your feeling about moving to Pissevin or Valdegour?
- If you are living in state sponsored housing, did you have a say in where you wanted to move? Would Pissevin or Valdegour have been on your list if you did not have a say?
- Do you read the local press? If so, do you think they provide accurate representations of the neighbourhoods of Pissevin and Valdegour?
- How do you refer to the neighbourhoods? Do you agree with those who call them a 'ghetto'? Are you aware of any other potentially stigmatising labels that people use?
- Have you ever heard of the idea of 'territorial stigmatisation'? What consequences would you say this has on neighbourhoods like Pissevin and Valdegour?
- How would you describe the neighbouring *cité* (either Valdegour or Pissevin)? Do you have a sense that there is or that there was some form of links or solidarity between Valdegour and Pissevin?

2) For non-residents of Pissevin and Valdegour

Personal background:

- Would you be comfortable telling me your age group?
 - How strong is your relationship with Nîmes? Where did you grow up?
 - Where do you now live? Would you describe yourself as 'attached' to this neighbourhood?
- Are you involved in the neighbourhood in any way?
- Are you currently employed? Is your job based in the city of Nîmes?
 - Do you read the local press? If so, how regularly?

The reputation of Pissevin and Valdegour:

- Have you read about Pissevin and Valdegour recently?

- Have you recently heard any news about the housing estates?
- Would you ever live in Pissevin or Valdegour?
- Who lives in these housing estates?
- Have you ever been to one of the housing estates? Do you know anyone who has? If so, have you discussed this with them?
- Do you use the acronyms ZUP or ZUS to refer to these places? Do you use the word *cit  *?
- How would you describe Pissevin and Valdegour? How would you describe the reputations that Pissevin and Valdegour have?
- Do you believe the reputation is comparable to that of Mas-de-Mingue or Chemin Bas d'Avignon?
- Some people speak of *cit  s* as being ghettos? Is this a representation that you agree with?
- Have you ever heard of the idea of 'territorial stigmatisation'? What consequences would you say this has on neighbourhoods like Pissevin and Valdegour?
- Do you know anything about what the *politique de la ville* has been doing in Valdegour and Pissevin? Have you heard about the renovations that are taking place in these neighbourhoods? Do you think these are necessary?
- Have you heard about the demolitions that have taken place in Valdegour? Do you think this was a good thing for the residents? And for the city of N  mes?

3) For residents of *cit  s* involved in neighbourhood associations

Personal background:

See 1) above.

The reputation of Pissevin and Valdegour:

See 1) above.

- Is there any sense that the presence of associations might be somehow furthering the stigma that Pissevin and Valdegour suffer?

Involvement in the association:

- Are you a salaried employee or a volunteer? How many hours do you spend working for the association?
- How did you get involved?
- What does the association that you are working with strive to achieve? Are you successful?
- What is the reception of residents when it comes to your association?

4) For non-residents of *cités* involved in neighbourhood associations

Personal background:

See 2) above

The reputation of Pissevin and Valdegour:

- Have you read about Pissevin and Valdegour in the press recently?
- How would you describe the reputation that these estates have? Do you think their reputation is comparable to those of Chemin Bas d'Avignon and Mas-de-Mingue?
- How would you describe Pissevin and Valdegour? How would you describe the reputations that Pissevin and Valdegour have?
- Do you use the acronyms ZUP or ZUS to refer to these places? Do you use the word *cité*?
- Some people speak of *cités* as being ghettos? Is this a representation that you agree with?
- Do you know anything about what the *politique de la ville* has been doing in Valdegour and Pissevin? Have you heard about the renovations that are taking place in these neighbourhoods? Do you think these are necessary?
- Have you heard about the demolitions that have taken place in Valdegour? Do you think this was a good thing for the residents? And for the city of Nîmes?
- Have you ever heard of the idea of 'territorial stigmatisation'? What consequences would you say this has on neighbourhoods like Pissevin and Valdegour?

Involvement in the association:

- Are you a salaried employee or a volunteer? How many hours do you spend working/helping out for the association?
- How did you get involved? Why have you chosen to get involved in these areas? Do you have any other commitments?
- What does the association that you are working with strive to achieve? Are you successful?
- How is your association funded? Do you feel you have adequate funding?
- What is the reception of residents when it comes to your association?
- How did you first feel when you came to work in these *cités*? Has this feeling evolved?
- What were the reactions of your family and friends when you first started working/helping in the association?
- Are you concerned to challenge people's representation of this area?
- Is there any sense that the presence of associations might be somehow furthering the stigma that Pissevin and Valdegour suffer?

Appendix 4: Decision to demolish 170 homes in Valdegour



PREFET DU GARD

Direction Départementale
des Territoires et de la Mer
Service Habitat et Construction
Affaire suivie par : Fabrice Fayard
☎ 04 66 00 00 00
Email : Fabrice.Fayard@pref.gard.gouv.fr

DECISION AUTORISANT LA DEMOLITION DE 170 LOGEMENTS, QUARTIER DE VALDEGOUR, SUR LA COMMUNE DE NIMES

Le Préfet du Gard
Chevalier de la légion d'honneur,

Vu le projet présenté par l'Office public de l'Habitat du Gard – Habitat du Gard, concernant la démolition de 170 logements, 2 à 18, place Galilée, dans le quartier de Valdegour, sur la commune de Nîmes;

Vu le Code de la Construction et de l'Habitation, notamment les articles, L.443.15.1 et R.443.17, relatifs à la démolition des logements;

Vu la délibération du Conseil d'Administration de l'Office public de l'Habitat du Gard – Habitat du Gard, du 10 décembre 2002, approuvant la démolition susvisée;

Vu la Convention de rénovation urbaine du 20 juillet 2005;

Vu la délibération du Conseil Municipal de la Ville de Nîmes du 9 juillet 2005, énonçant, notamment, les objectifs de la Convention susvisée;

Sur proposition de la Secrétaire Générale de la Préfecture du Gard;

DECIDE

Article 1er :

L'Office public de l'Habitat du Gard – Habitat du Gard est autorisé à démolir 170 logements, sis, 2 à 18, place Galilée, quartier de Valdegour sur la commune de Nîmes.

Article 2

La Secrétaire Générale de la Préfecture du Gard et le Directeur départemental des Territoires et de la Mer sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution de la présente décision qui sera notifiée au Président de l'Office public de l'Habitat du Gard – Habitat du Gard.

Fait à Nîmes le

Le Préfet

Literature references

- Abel, T.** (1948) The operation called *Verstehen*. *American Journal of Sociology*, 54: 211-218.
- Abrahamsen, R., Huber, D. and Williams, M. C.** (2009) Special issue on urban insecurities: Guest editors' introduction. *Security Dialogue*, 40(4-5): 363-372.
- Abu-Lughod, J.** (1997) The Specificity of the Chicago Ghetto: Comment on Wacquant's "Three Pernicious Premises". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 21(2): 357-362.
- Abu-Lughod, L.** (1990) The romance of resistance: Tracing transformations of power through Bedouin women. *American Ethnologist* 17(1): 41-55.
- Adell, G. and Capodano, X.** (2001) Dire les nouveaux territoires: Du stigmat de la banlieue à l'ubiquité du paysage. In H. Rivière d'Arc (ed.) *Nommer les Nouveaux Territoires Urbains* (pp. 63-86). Paris: UNESCO.
- Afshar, H.** (2008) Can I see your hair? Choice, agency and attitudes: The dilemma of faith and feminism for Muslim women who cover. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(2): 411-427.
- Agamben, G.** (1998) *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Agger, G.** (1999) Intertextuality revisited: Dialogues and negotiations in media studies. *Canadian Journal of Aesthetics*, 4: Available online: http://www.uqtr.ca/AE/vol_4/gunhild.htm [Last accessed 12/12/2012].
- Agier, M.** (1999) *L'invention de la ville: Banlieues, townships, invasions et favelas*. Amsterdam: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines.
- Agustoni, A. and Alietti, A.** (2007) *Società urbana e convivenza interetnica: Vita quotidiana e rappresentazioni degli immigranti in un quartiere de Milano*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Ahmed, S.** (2000) *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge.
- Ahmed, S.** (2002) This other and other others. *Economy and Society*, 31(4): 558-572.
- Ahmed, S.** (2005) The skin of community: Affect and boundary formation. In T. Chanter and E. Plonowska Ziarek (eds.) *Revolt, Affect, Collectivity* (pp.95-112). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Al-Bulushi, Y.** (2012) Learning from revolt: From Watts to the banlieues. *City*, 16(1-2): 34-56.
- Alderman, D. H.** (1997) TV news hyper-coverage and the representation of place: Observations on the O.J. Simpson case. *Geografiska Annaler*, 79(2): 83-95.
- Alexander, C. E.** (2000) *The Asian Gang: Ethnicity, Identity, Masculinity*. Oxford: Berg.
- Allen, A.** (1999) *The Power of Feminist Theory: Domination, Resistance, Solidarity*. Oxford: Westview Press.

- Allen, G.** (2000) *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge.
- ALP [Association de la lettre de Pissevin]** (2008) *L'Almanach de Pissevin*. RIRESC: Nîmes.
- ALP [Association de la lettre de Pissevin]** (2009) *L'Almanach de Pissevin*. RIRESC: Nîmes.
- Amara, F.** (2006 [2003]) *Breaking the Silence: French Women's Voices from the Ghetto*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Amin, A.** (2002) Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, 34(6): 959-980.
- Amin, A.** (2003) Unruly strangers? The 2001 urban riots in Britain. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(2): 460-463.
- Amin, A.** and **Graham, S.** (1997) The ordinary city. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(4): 411-429.
- Amin, A.** and **Thrift, N.** (2002) *Cities: Re-Imagining the Urban*. London: Polity Press.
- Amorim, M.** [ed.] (2002) *Images et discours sur la banlieue*. Toulouse: Érès.
- Anderson, E.** (2011) *The Cosmopolitan Canopy: Race and Civility in Everyday Life*. New York: W. W. Norton & co.
- Anderson, K.** (1991) *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Anderson, K.** (2002) The racialization of difference: Enlarging the story field. *The Professional Geographer*, 54(1): 25-30.
- Anderson, K.** and **Gale, F.** (1992) Introduction. In K. Anderson and F. Gale (eds.) *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography* (pp. 1-12). Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Andréani, R.** (2006) Les difficultés de la croissance: 1947-2005. In R. Andréani (ed.) *Nouvelle histoire de Nîmes* (pp. 253-276). Toulouse: Éditions Privat.
- Appleton, A.** (2005) Associational life in France. In A. Cole, P. Le Galès and J. Levy (eds.) *Developments in French Politics*, 3 (pp.54-69). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Armagnague, M.** (2012) Le village contre le ghetto: La dimension ethnique dans la cité, une ressource pour les descendants de migrants. In R. Cortéséro (ed.) *La banlieue change ! Inégalités, justice sociale et action publique dans les quartiers populaires* (pp. 98-118). Lormont: Le Bord de l'Eau.
- Arsène-Henry, X.** (1969) *Notre ville*. Paris: MAME.
- Arsène-Henry, X.** (1999) *Revenons, Il se fait tard: Le long voyage d'un architecte, 1919-1998*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

- Arthurson, K.** (2004) From stigma to demolition: Australian debates about housing and social exclusion. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19: 255-270.
- Arthurson, K.** (2010) Operationalising social mix: Spatial scale, lifestyle and stigma as mediating points in resident interaction. *Urban Policy and Research*, 28(1): 49-63.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H.** (2002 [1989]) *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London: Routledge.
- Atkinson, R.** (1998) *The Life Story Interview*. London: Sage.
- Atkinson, R. and Flint, J.** (2001) Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations: Snowball research strategies. *Social Research Update*, 31: <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.html> [Last accessed 18-10-2012].
- Augoyard, J-F.** (2007 [1979]) *Step by Step: Everyday Walks in a French Urban Housing Project*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Autain, C. et al.** (2006) *Banlieue, lendemains de révolte*. Paris: La Dispute/Regards.
- Auyero, J. and Swistun, D. A.** (2009) *Flammable: Environmental Suffering and an Argentine Shantytown*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Auzanneau, M.** (2010) « La langue des cités » ? Contribution pour la libération d'un mythe. *Adolescence*, 70(4): 873-885.
- Avery, D.** (1987) *Civilisations de La Courneuve: Images brisées d'une cité*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Avraham, E. and First, A.** (2006) Media, power and space: Ways of constructing the periphery as the 'other'. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 7(1): 71-86.
- Azra, J-L. and Cheneau, V.** (1994) Jeux de langage et théorie phonologique: Verlan et structure syllabique du français. *French Language Studies*, 4: 147-170.
- Bachmann, C.** (1993) Jeunes et banlieues. In G. Ferreol (ed.) *Intégration & exclusion dans la société française contemporaine* (pp. 129-154). Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille.
- Bachmann, C. and Le Guennec** (1996) *Violences urbaines. Ascension et chute des classes moyennes à travers cinquante ans de la politique de la ville*. Paris: Albin Michel.
- Back, L. and Keith, M.** (2004) Impurity and the emancipatory city: Young people, community safety and racial danger. In L. Lees (ed.) *The Emancipatory City? Paradoxes and Possibilities* (pp. 57-71). London: Sage.
- Bacqué, M-H.** (2005) Associations 'communautaires' et gestion de la pauvreté: Les Community Development Corporations à Boston. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 160(5): 46-65.
- Bacqué, M-H.** (2008) Voyage dans le monde des bandes. Introduction to L. Madzou, *J'étais un chef de gang* (pp. 165-236). Paris: La Découverte.

- Bacqué, M-H. and Denjean, J-M.** (2006) Les émeutes urbaines, signe d'échec de la politique de la ville? *Mouvements*, 44(2): 115-120.
- Bacqué, M-H. and Fol, S.** (1997) *Le devenir des banlieues rouges*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bacqué, M-H. and Sintomer, Y.** (1999) L'espace public dans les quartiers populaires d'habitat social. In C. Neveu (ed.) *Espace public et engagement politique: Enjeux et logiques de la citoyenneté locale* (pp. 115-150). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bacqué, M-H. and Sintomer, Y.** (2001) Affiliations et désaffiliations en banlieue: Réflexions à partir des exemples de Saint-Denis et d'Aubervilliers. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 42(2): 217-249.
- Bacqué, R.** (2007) Azouz Begag démissionne sur un brûlot antisarkoziste. *Le Monde*, 6th of April.
- Badiou, A.** (2010) *The Meaning of Sarkozy*. London: Verso.
- Bagguley, P. and Hussain, Y.** (2008) *Righteous Citizens: Ethnic Conflict in Multicultural Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Balibar, E.** (2007) Uprisings in the *banlieues*. *Constellations*, 14(2): 47-71.
- Bandura, A.** (2000) Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9(3): 75-78.
- Bandura, A.** (2006) Toward a psychology of human agency. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 1(2): 194-180.
- Bancel, N., Bernault, F., Blanchard, P., Boubeker, A., Mbembe, A. and Vergès, F.** [eds.] (2010) *Ruptures postcoloniales: Les nouveaux visages de la société française*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Banlieues 89** (1989) *Vers une civilisation urbaine. Assises de Nanterre 20 et 21 mai 1989*. Paris: Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville et au Développement Social Urbain and Banlieues 89.
- Baudin, G. and Genestier, P.** (2006) Faut-il vraiment démolir les grands ensembles? *Espaces et Sociétés*, 124-125(2-3): 207-222.
- Baudouï, R.** (1992) La cité de la Muette à Drancy, 1933-1945. In A. Fourcaut (ed.) *Banlieue rouge, 1920-1960* (pp.207-219). Paris: Autrement.
- Bauman, Z.** (1978) *Hermeneutics and Social Science*. London: Hutchinson.
- Beach, D. and Sernhede, O.** (2011) From learning to labour to learning to marginality: School segregation and marginalization in Swedish suburbs. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 32(2): 257-274.
- Beaman, J.** (2010) Identity, marginalization, and Parisian banlieues. In R. Hutchison (ed.) *Research in Urban Sociology Book Series Vol.10: Suburbanization in a Global Society* (pp.153-176). Bingley: Emerald.

- Beaud, S. and Masclet, O.** (2004) Des 'marcheurs' de 1983 aux 'émeutiers' de 2005: Deux générations sociales d'enfants d'immigrés. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 61(4): 809-843.
- Beaud, S. and Pialoux, M.** (2005) *Violences urbaines, violences sociales: Genèse des nouvelles classes dangereuses*. Paris: Fayard.
- Becker, H. S.** (1991 [1963]) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press.
- Begag, A.** (1995) *Espace et exclusion: Mobilités dans les quartiers périphériques d'Avignon*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Begag, A.** (2002) Frontières géographiques et barrières sociales dans les quartiers de banlieue. *Annales de Géographie*, 111(625): 265-84.
- Begag, A.** (2007) *Ethnicity & Equality: France in the Balance*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Begag, A.** (2012) *Bouger la banlieue: L'intégration en question*. Bordeaux: Elytis.
- Begag, A. and Delorme, C.** (1993) *Quartiers sensibles*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Béhar, D.** (1995) Banlieues, ghettos, quartiers populaires ou villes éclatées ? L'espace urbain a l'épreuve de la nouvelle question sociale. *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, 68-69: available online: <http://www.acadie-reflex.fr/publications/txt063.pdf> [Last accessed: 20/08/2013].
- Bekouchi, M.** (1984) *Du bled à la ZUP: Problématique culturelle dans l'agglomération nantaise*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Belhaj Kacem, M.** (2006) *La psychose française. Les banlieues: Le ban de la République*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Bell, D. and Jayne, M.** (2009) Small cities? Towards a research agenda. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(3): 683-699.
- Belmessous, H.** (2010) *Opération banlieues: Comment l'État prépare la guerre urbaine dans les cités françaises*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Belmessous, H.** (2013) *Sur la corde raide: Le feu et la révolte couve toujours en banlieue*. Lormont: Le Bord de l'Eau.
- Berger, J.** (1972) *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin.
- Berger, P. and Luckman T.** (1991 [1966]) *The Social Construction of Reality*. London: Penguin.
- Beriss, D.** (2004) Culture-as-race or culture-as-culture: Caribbean ethnicity and the ambiguity of cultural identity in French society. In H. Chapman and L.L. Frader (eds.) *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference* (pp.111-140). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

- Bernardot, M.** (2008a) *Loger les immigrés: la Sonacotra 1956-2006*. Paris: Editions du Croquant.
- Bernardot, M.** (2008b) Camps d'étrangers, foyers de travailleurs, centres d'expulsion: Les lieux communs de l'immigré décolonisé. *Cultures et Conflits*, 69(1): 55-79.
- Bernat, M.** and **Davidio, J. F.** (2000) Stigma and stereotypes. In T. F. Heatherton, R. R. Kleck, M. R., Hebl and J. G. Hull (eds.) *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp.88-125). New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Bernié-Boissard, C.** (1993) *Nîmes: Le choc de la modernité*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bernié-Boissard, C.** (2008) *Des mots qui font la ville*. Paris: La Dispute.
- Bernié-Boissard, C.** (2009) Ce que la fête dit de la ville: L'exemple de la Féria de Nîmes. In L. S. Fournier, D. Crozat, C. Bernié-Boissard and C. Chastagner (eds.) *La fête au présent: Mutation des fêtes au sein des loisirs* (pp. 89-96). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bernié-Boissard, C.** (2011) La ville en fêtes: Signes d'identités, lieu de résistances. *CIDADES*, 8(13).
- Bertho, A.** (2009) *Le temps des émeutes*. Montrouge: Bayard Éditions.
- Bertucci, M-M.** and **Houdart-Merot, V.** (2005) Introduction. In M-M. Bertucci and V. Houdart-Merot (eds.) *Situations de banlieues: Enseignement, langues, cultures* (pp.1-28). Lyon: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique.
- Bidou-Zachariasen, C.** (1997) La prise en compte de l'effet de territoire dans l'analyse des quartiers urbains. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 38(1): 97-117.
- Biernacki, P.** and **Waldorf, D.** (1981) Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain-referral sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 10(2): 141-163.
- Signal, S.** (2010) *Postcolonial Agency: Critique and Constructivism*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Bigo, D.** (2003) Comment douter de la sécurité ? *Hommes et Migrations*, 1241: 32-42.
- Bigo, D.** (2008) Globalised (in)security : The field and the Ban-opticon. In D. Bigo and A. Tsoukala (eds.) *Terror, Insecurity and Liberty: Illiberal Practices of Liberal Regimes After 9/11* (pp. 5-49). London: Routledge.
- Bilal** (2012) 'À Nîmes, n'oublions ni Valdegour ni Pissevin!' Comment posted on Cadène, N.: *Nicolascadène.net*, available online: <http://nicolascadene.net/?p=1636> [Last accessed 12-08-2012].
- Bilger-Street and Milner, S.** (2001) The municipal election of March 2001. *Modern & Contemporary France*, 9(4): 507-522.
- Birnbaum, P.** (2006) *"La France aux français": Histoire des haines nationalistes*. Paris: Seuil.

- Blanc, M.** (2007) La politique de la ville: Une exception française? *Espaces et Sociétés*, 128-129(1-2): 71-86.
- Blanchet, A. and Gotman, A.** (2010) *L'entretien: L'enquête et ses méthodes*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Blokland, T.** (2003) *Urban Bonds: Urban Bonds in an Inner City Neighbourhood*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Blokland, T.** (2005) Memory magic: How a working-class neighbourhood became and imagined community and class started to matter when it lost its base. In F. Devine, M. Savage, J. Scott and R. Crompton (eds.) *Rethinking Class: Culture, Identities & Lifestyle* (pp. 123-139). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bloom, P.J.** (2009) The state of French cultural exceptionalism: The 2005 uprisings and the politics of visibility. In C. Tshimanga, D. Gondola and P. J. Bloom (eds.) *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (pp. 227-247). Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Blumer, H.** (1969) *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. London: University of California Press.
- Body-Gendrot, S.** (1993) Migration and the racialization of the postmodern city in France. In M. Cross and M. Keith (eds.) *Racism, the City and the State* (pp.77-92). London: Routledge.
- Body-Gendrot, S.** (1996) Fantasmagorie de la ville dangereuse. *Urbanisme*, 286: 58-60.
- Body-Gendrot, S.** (2000) *The Social Control of Cities? A Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Body-Gendrot, S.** (2007) La spécificité des ghettos noirs américains. *Urbanisme*, 356: 87-88.
- Body-Gendrot, S., Le Guennec, N. and Herrou, M.** (1998) *Mission sur les violences urbaines*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Body-Gendrot, S. and Wihtol De Wenden, C.** (2003) *Police et discriminations raciales: Le tabou français*. Ivry-sur-Seine: Éditions de l'Atelier.
- Body-Gendrot, S. and Wihtol De Wenden, C.** (2007) *Sortir des banlieues: Pour en finir avec la tyrannie des territoires*. Paris: Éditions Autrement.
- Boland, P.** (2008) The construction of images of people and place: Labelling Liverpool and stereotyping Scousers. *Cities*, 25(6): 355-369.
- Bolt, G., van Ham, M. and Permentier, M.** (2009) Neighbourhood reputation and the intention to leave the neighbourhood. *Environment and Planning A*, 41(9): 2162-2180.
- Boltanski, L.** (2009) *De la critique: Précis de sociologie de l'émancipation*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Bonelli, L.** (2005) The control of the enemy within? Police intelligence in the French suburbs (*banlieues*) and its relevance for globalization. In E. Guild and D. Bigo (eds.) *Controlling Frontiers: Free Movement Into and Within Europe* (pp. 193-208). London: Ashgate.

- Bonelli, L.** (2007) Policing the youth: Toward a redefinition of discipline and social control in French working-class neighborhoods. In S. Venkatesh and R. Kassimir (eds.) *Youth, Globalization, and the Law* (pp.90-123). London: Stansted University Press.
- Bonelli, L.** (2008) *La France a peur: Une histoire sociale de l'insécurité*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Bonnemaison, G.** (1982) *Face à la délinquance: Prévention, répression, solidarité. Rapport au Premier ministre*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Bonnett, A.** (1996) Anti-racism and the critique of "white" identities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 22(1): 97-110.
- Bordet, J.** (2001) Les microsociétés des jeunes d'habitat social. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 17(2): 169-174.
- Borgetto, M. and Chauvière, M.** (2008) *Qui gouverne le social ?* Paris: Dalloz.
- Bouamama, S.** (2006) De la visibilisation à la suspicion: la fabrique républicaine d'une politisation. In M. Guénif-Souilamas (ed.) *La République mise à nu par son immigration* (pp. 196-216). Paris: La Fabrique Éditions.
- Bouamama, S.** (2007) La révolte des quartiers populaires: Un révélateur de l'ordre de la domination. In *Une mauvaise décolonisation. La France: de l'Empire aux émeutes des quartiers populaires* (pp.75-92). Pantin: Le Temps des Cerises.
- Bouamama, S. and Tévanian, P.** (2005) Peut-on parler d'un racisme post-colonial?. In P. Blanchard and N. Bancel (eds.) *Culture Post-Coloniale: Traces et Mémoires Coloniales en France*. Paris: Éditions Autrement.
- Boubeker, A.** (2008) La 'petite histoire' d'une génération d'expérience: Du Mouvement Beur aux banlieues de l'Islam. In A. Boubeker and A. Hajjat (eds.) *Histoire politique des immigrations (post)coloniales: France, 1920-2008*. Paris: Éditions Amsterdam
- Boubeker, A.** (2009) Outsiders in the French melting pot: The public construction of invisibility for visible minorities. In C. Tshimanga, D. Gondola and P. J. Bloom (eds.) *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (pp. 70-90). Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Boubeker, A.** (2010) L'immigration (post)coloniale en héritage: Un récit en marge de l'histoire de France. In N. Bancel, F. Bernault, P. Blanchard, A. Boubeker, A. Mbembe and F. Vergès (eds.) *Ruptures postcoloniales: Les nouveaux visages de la société française* (pp. 265-278). Paris: La Découverte.
- Boucher, M.** (1998) *Le rap, expression des lascar: Significations et enjeux du rap dans la société française*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Boucher, M.** (2001) Rap, 'peur de la jeunesse' et ingéniosité créatrice. In A. Vulbeau (ed.) *La jeunesse comme ressource: Expérimentations et expériences dans l'espace public* (pp. 151-168). Toulouse: Érès.

- Boucher, M.** (2007) *Turbulences: Comprendre les désordres urbains et leur régulation*. Paris: Téraèdre.
- Boucher, M.** (2010) *Les internés du ghetto: Ethnographie des confrontations violentes dans une cité impopulaire*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Boucher, M., Belqasmi, M. and Marlière, E.** (2013) *Casquettes contre képis: Enquête sur la police de rue et l'usage de la force dans les quartiers populaires*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1972) *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*. Paris: Droz.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1980) *Le sens pratique*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1986) What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 32(1): 1-17.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1989) Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1): 18-26.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1990 [1970]) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1993) La situation d'enquête et ses effets. In P. Bourdieu (ed.) *La misère du monde*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1994) L'emprise du journalisme. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 101: 3-9.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1998) *Acts of Resistance: Against the New Myths of our Time*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P.** (1999 [1993]) Site effects. In P. Bourdieu (ed.) *The Weight of the World* (pp. 123-129). Stanford: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P.** (2000) *Les structures sociales de l'économie*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Bourdieu, P.** (2003 [1997]) *Méditations Pascaliennes*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Bourdieu, P.** (2007) *Sketch for a Self-Analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C.** (1964) *Les héritiers: Les étudiants et la culture*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. J. D.** (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourgois, P.** (2003 [1996]) *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourgois, P. and Schonberg, J.** (2009) *Righteous Dopefiend*. London: University of California Press.

- Bousfield, C.** (2000) The object space: Its gifts and complaints. *Journal of Gender Studies* 9(3): 329-46.
- Bousquet, R.** (1998) *Insécurité: Nouveaux risques. Les quartiers de tous les enjeux*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bowen, J. R.** (2007) *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Bowen, J. R.** (2010) *Can Islam be French? Pluralism and Pragmatism in a Secularist State*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Boyer, H. and Lochard, G.** (1998) *Scènes de télévision en banlieues, 1950-1994*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bozzo, A.** (2005) Islam et République: Une longue histoire de méfiance. In P. Blanchard, N. Bancel and S. Lemaire (eds.) *La fracture coloniale*. Paris: Éditions La Découverte.
- Brenner, E.** [ed.] (2002) *Les territoires perdus de la République: Milieu scolaire, antisémitisme, sexisme*. Paris: Mille et Une Nuits.
- Brenner, N.** Henri Lefebvre's critique of state productivism. In K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom and C. Schmid (eds.) *Space, Difference, and Everyday Life: Henri Lefebvre and Radical Politics* (pp.231-249). New York: Routledge.
- Brenner, N. and Elden, S.** (2009) Henri Lefebvre on state, place, territory. *International Political Sociology*, 3(4): 353-377.
- Briseul, J-P., Duru, B. and Geniez, D.** (2001) Présentation du Grand Projet de Ville à Nîmes: Languedoc-Roussillon. Fiche territoriale. 1st of December. <http://i.ville.gouv.fr/permalink/615> [Accessed 12-06-2013].
- Bronner, L.** (2010) *La loi du ghetto: Enquête dans les banlieues françaises*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy.
- Brouard, S. and Tiberj, V.** (2005) *Français comme les autres ? Enquête sur les citoyens d'origine maghrébine, africaine et turque*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Brown, M. F.** (1996) On resisting resistance. *American Anthropologist*, 98(4): 729-749.
- Brown, R. P. and Pinel, E. C.** (2003) Stigma on my mind: Individual differences in the experience of stereotype threat. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 39(6): 626-633.
- Bruley, E.** (1928) *La Seine-et-Oise*. Paris: Albin Michel.
- Bruner, J.** (1990) *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bryant, R. L.** (2000) Politicized moral geographies: Debating biodiversity conservation and ancestral domain in the Philippines. *Political Geography*, 19(6): 673-705.
- Bryman, A.** (2004 [2001]) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bui-Trong, L.** (1998) Le rapport des jeunes avec l'autorité policière. *Migrants Formation*: 112: 49-62.

- Bui-Trong, L.** (2003) *Les racines de la violence: De l'émeute au communautarisme*. Paris: Éditions Audibert.
- Bulmer, M.** (1986) *The Chicago School of Sociology: Institutionalization, Diversity, and the Rise of Sociological Research*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bunar, N.** (2011) Multicultural urban schools in Sweden and their communities: Social predicaments, the power of stigma, and relational dilemmas. *Urban Education*, 46(2): 141-164.
- Burawoy, M.** (1979) *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process Under Monopoly Capitalism*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Burgel, G, Burgel, G and Dezes, M. G** (1987) An interview with Henri Lefebvre. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 5(1): 27-38.
- Burgess, E. W.** (1925) The growth of the city. *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 18: 85-97.
- Burlen, K.** (1995) *La banlieue oasis: Henri Sellier et les cités-jardins, 1900-1940*. Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes.
- Burquier, E.** (2004) *Les déplacements en transports publics dans une agglomération de taille moyenne: Le cas de Nîmes Métropole*. Unpublished Masters thesis (DESS Transports Urbains et Régionaux de Personnes). Université Lumière Lyon 2, France.
- Butera, F. and Levine, J. M.** [eds.] (2009) *Coping with Minority Status: Responses to Exclusion and Inclusion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Butlen, M.** (2005) Images des banlieues dans les ouvrages recommandés à l'école et au collège. In M-M. Bertucci and V. Houdart-Merot (eds.) *Situations de banlieues: enseignement, langues, cultures* (pp. 151-163). Lyon: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique.
- Butler, J.** (1987) *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France*. Guildford, Surrey: Columbia University Press.
- Butler, J.** (1993) *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*. London: Routledge.
- Butler, J.** (1997) *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Butler, J.** (2008 [1990]) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Cadène, N.** (2012) À Nîmes, n'oublions ni Valdegour ni Pissevin ! *Nicolascadène.net*: Available online: <http://nicolascadene.net/?p=1636> [last accessed 12-08-2012].
- Caldeira, T.** (2000) *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. London: University of California Press.
- Campbell, C. and Deacon, H.** (2006) Unravelling the contexts of stigma: From internalisation to resistance to change. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 16: 411-17.

- Campkin, B. and Cox, R.** [eds.] (2007) *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Canghulhem, G.** (1966 [1943]) *Le normal et le pathologique, augmenté de Nouvelles réflexions sur le normal et le pathologique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Card, P.** (2006) Governing tenants: From dreadful enclosures to dangerous places. In J. Flint (ed.) *Housing, Urban Governance and Anti-Social Behaviour: Perspectives, Policy and Practice* (pp.37-56). Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Carles, P.** (2001) *La sociologie est un sport de combat*. Documentary film (length: 2h26). C-P Productions and VF Films.
- Cartier, M., Coutant, I., Masclet, O. and Siblot, Y.** (2008) *La France des 'petits moyens': Enquête sur la banlieue pavillonnaire*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Castellan, M., Marpsat, M. and Goldberger, M-F.** (1992) Les quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville. *Insee première*, 234: Available online: <http://www.epsilon.insee.fr/jspui/bitstream/1/9967/1/ip234.pdf> [Last accessed: 02/03/2011].
- Castañeda, E.** (2012) Places of stigma: Ghettos, barrios, banlieues. In R. Hutchison and B.D. Haynes (eds.) *The Ghetto: Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies* (pp.159-190). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Castel, R.** (1995) *Les Métamorphoses de la question sociale: une chronique du salariat*. Paris: Fayard.
- Castel, R.** (2006) La discrimination négative: Le déficit de citoyenneté des jeunes de banlieue. *Annales*, 61(4): 777-808.
- Castells, M.** (2004 [1997]) *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Céline, L-F.** (1944) Préface. In A. Serouille, *Bezons à travers les âges*. Paris: Denoël.
- Cesari, J.** (1994) De l'immigré au minoritaire: Les Maghrébins de France. *Revue européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 10(1): 109-126.
- Chaline, C.** (1997) *Les politiques de la ville*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Charbonneau, J. and Germain, A.** (2002) Les banlieues de l'immigration. *Recherches Sociographiques*, 43(2): 311-328.
- Chauvière, M.** (2010) *Trop de gestion tue le travail social: Essai sur une discrète chalandisation*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Chevalier, C. and Lebeauvin, F.** (2007) La population des zones urbaines sensibles. Available online: http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1328. Paris: INSEE.
- Chevalier, G.** (2005) *Sociologie critique de la politique de la ville: Une action publique sous influence*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

- Chevalier, L.** (2002 [1958]) *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses*. Paris: Éditions Académiques Perrin.
- Chibane, M. and Chibane, K.** (2003) Le cinéma post-colonial des banlieues renoue avec le cinéma des banlieues. *Mouvements*, 27-28: 35-38.
- Chignier-Riboulon, F.** (2009) *Les quartiers, entre espoir et enfermement*. Paris: Ellipses.
- Chignier-Riboulon, F., Commerçon, N., Trigueiro, M. and Zepf, M.** (2003) *Large Housing Estates in France: Overview of the Developments and Problems in Lyon*. Utrecht: Urban and Regional Research Centre Utrecht, Faculty of Geosciences, University of Utrecht.
- Chiwengo, N.** (2003) Otherness and female identities: Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe*. *Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy*, 13(1): 167-176.
- Chombart de Lauwe, P-H.** (2008 [1984]) Périphéries des villes et crise de la civilisation. In T. Paquot (ed.) *Banlieues: Une anthologie* (pp. 107-119). Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes.
- Clair, I.** (2008) *Les jeunes et l'amour dans les cités*. Paris: Arland Colin.
- Clark, T.** (2008) 'We're over researched here!' Exploring accounts of research fatigue within qualitative research engagements. *Sociology*, 42(5): 953-970.
- Clark, T.** (2010) On 'being researched': Why do people engage with qualitative research? *Qualitative Research*, 10(4): 399-419.
- Clark, T.** (2011) Gaining and maintaining access: Exploring the mechanisms that support and challenge the relations between gatekeepers and researchers. *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(4): 485-502.
- Cohen, S.** (2002 [1972]) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. London: Routledge.
- Coleman, A.** (1985) *Utopia on Trial: Vision and Reality in Planned Housing*. London: Shipman.
- Collovald, A.** (2001) Des désordres sociaux à la violence urbaine. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 136(1): 104-113.
- Comaroff, J.** (1985) *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Conklin, A. L.** (2000) Boundaries unbound: Teaching French history as colonial history and colonial history as French history. *French Historical Studies* 23(2): 215-238.
- Conradson, D.** (2003a) Geographies of care: Spaces, practices, experiences. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 4(4): 451-454.
- Conradson, D.** (2003b) Spaces of care in the city: The place of a community drop-in centre. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 4(4): 507-524.
- Conseil de Quartier** (2010) 'Rapport du conseil de quartier Nîmes Ouest'. Official document: Nîmes.

- Contreras, R.** (2013) *The Stickup Kids: Race, Drugs, Violence, and the American Dream*. London: University of California Press.
- Cook I.** (2005). Positionality / situated knowledge. In D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley and N. Washbourne (eds.) *Cultural Geography: a Critical Dictionary of Key Ideas* (pp. 16-26) London: IB Tauris.
- Coquery, M.** (1965) L'urbanisation française. *Annales de Géographie*, 74(406): 740-746.
- Corbin, A.** (1996 [1986]) *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination*. London: Papermac.
- Cornu, M.** (1977) *Libérer la ville*. Bruxelles: Casterman.
- Cortéséro, R.** (2012) La domination sans l'exploitation: Sentiments d'injustice, rapports sociaux et résistance au stigmat dans les quartiers de banlieue. In R. Cortéséro (ed.) *La banlieue change ! Inégalités, justice sociale et action publique dans les quartiers populaires* (pp. 65-93). Lormont: Le Bord de l'Eau.
- Cosson, A.** (1985) L'industrie textile à Nîmes: La fin d'une hégémonie (1790-1850). *Le Mouvement Social*, 133: 5-24.
- Cousseau, F., Maurin, L. and Mazery, V.** (2012) 'Premières estimations du taux de pauvreté des plus grandes communes de France'. Report: *Compas Études*, n°2 (4p.).
- Coutant, I.** (2005) *Délit de jeunesse: La justice face aux quartiers*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T. and Roberts, B.** (2006 [1975]) Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds.) *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Cloke, P., May, J. and Johnsen, S.** (2010) *Swept Up Lives? Re-Envisioning the Homeless City*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Crang, M.** (2005) Qualitative methods (part 3): There is nothing outside the text? *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(2): 225-233.
- Cresswell, T.** (1996) *In Place/Out of Place*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cresswell, T.** (2000) Falling down: Resistance as diagnostic. In S. P. Sharpe, P. Routledge, C. Philo and R. Paddison (eds.) *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance* (pp 256-268). London: Routledge.
- Crettiez, X. and Sommier, I.** [ed.] (2002) *La France rebelle: Tous les foyers, mouvements et acteurs de la contestation*. Paris: Editions Michalon.
- Crisp, A. H., Gelder, M. G., Rix, S., Meltzer, H. I. and Rowlands, O. J.** (2000) Stigmatisation of people with mental illnesses. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 177(1): 4-7.

- Crocker, J. and Major, B.** (1989) Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96: 608-630.
- Croizet, J-C. and Claire, T.** (1998) Extending the concept of stereotype threat to social class: The intellectual underperformance of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24(6): 588-594.
- Croizet, J-C. and Martinot, D.** (2007) Stigmatisation et estime de soi. In J-C Croizet and J-P Leyens (eds.) *Mauvaises Réputations: Réalités et Enjeux de la Stigmatisation Sociale* (pp. 25-59). Paris: Armand Colin.
- Crump, J.** (2002) Deconcentration by demolition: Public housing, poverty and urban policy. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20(5): 581-596.
- Cumbers, A., Helms, G. and Swanson, K.** (2010) Class, agency and resistance in the old industrial city. *Antipode*, 42(1): 46-73.
- Curie, R.** (2010) *Le travail social à l'épreuve du néo-libéralisme: Entre résignation et résistance*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Damer, S. and Hartshorne, L.** (1991) Habitat et réputation: Peur et sentiment de dégoût dans les logements sociaux de Glasgow. *Déviance et Société*, 15(3): 293-299.
- Damon, J.** (2002) Les mobilisations et protestations collectives en faveur des SDF: Quelques jalons dans l'histoire récente. *Revue Française des Affaires Sociales*, 2(2): 7-22.
- Damon, J.** (2004) Mal logement, habitat indigne et bidonvilles en France. *Recherches et Prévisions*, 76: 116-119.
- Davis, M.** (2006) *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso.
- Davis, O.** (2010) *Jacques Rancière*. London: Polity Press.
- Dean, J. and Hastings, A.** (2000) *Challenging Images: Housing Estates, Stigma and Regeneration*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Dear, M. and Wolch, J. R.** (1989) How territory shapes social life. In J. R. Wolch and M. J. Dear (eds.) *The Power of Geography* (pp. 3-18). Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- de Barros, F.** (2004) Des 'Français musulmans d'Algérie' aux 'immigrés': L'importation de classifications coloniales dans les politiques de logement en France (1950-1970). *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 159(4): 26-53.
- de Beauvoir, S.** (1997 [1949]) *Le deuxième sexe*.
- Debonneuil, M.** (1978) Les familles pauvres d'une ville moyenne. *Economie et Statistique*, 105: 25-37.
- de Certeau, M.** (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. London: University of California Press.

- de Certeau, M.** (2000) Walking in the city. In G. Ward (ed.) *The de Certeau Reader* (pp. 101-119). London: Blackwell.
- de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R.** (1999) The discursive construction of national identities. *Discourse & Society*, 10(2): 149-173.
- de Decker, P. and Pannecoucke, I.** (2004) The creation of the incapable social tenant in Flanders, Belgium: An appraisal. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 19: 293-309.
- de Lafargues, S.** (2006) Distribution et représentations du terme quartier dans les discours de la politique de la ville. In T. Bulot and V. Verschambre (eds.) *Mots, traces et marques: Dimensions spatiale et linguistique de la mémoire urbaine* (pp.37-62). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- de Laforcade, G.** (2006) Racialization and resistance in France: Postcolonial migrants, besieged cityscapes, and emergent solidarities. *The Journal and Labor and Society*, 9: 389-405.
- Delarue, J-M.** (1991) *Banlieues en difficulté: La relégation*. Paris: Syros.
- de Leeuw, A.** (2010) *Colonial historic geographic heritage in Puducherry in tourist information*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Faculty of Geosciences, University of Utrecht.
- Deleuze, G.** (2005 [1977]) Postface. In J. Donzelot, *La police des familles* (pp. 213-220). Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Delphy, C.** (2008) *Classer, dominer: Qui sont les autres ?* Paris: La Fabrique.
- Deltombe, T.** (2006) Le choc des civilisations vu par TF1 et France 2. In Islam & Laïcité (ed.) *Islam, médias et opinions publiques: déconstruire le "choc des civilisations"* (pp.49-64). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Deltombe, T.** (2007) *L'Islam imaginaire: La construction médiatique de l'islamophobie, 1975-2005*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Deltombe, T. and Rigouste, M.** (2006) L'ennemi intérieur: La construction médiatique de la figure de "l'Arabe". In P. Blanchard, N. Bancel and S. Lemaire, S. (eds.) *La fracture coloniale: La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (pp.195-202). Paris: La Découverte.
- Demiati, N.** (2006) Nicolas Sarkozy, ministre de l'Intérieur et pompier pyromane. In L. Mucchielli and V. Le Goaziou (eds.) *Quand les banlieues brûlent... Retour sur les émeutes de novembre 2005* (pp. 58-76). Paris: La Découverte.
- Denzin, N. K.** (1989) *Interpretative Interactionism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Denzein, N. K.** (1997) *Interpretative Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*. London: Sage.
- Denzin, N. K.** (2001) The reflexive interview and a performative social science. *Qualitative Research*, 1(1): 23-46.

- Depaule, J-C.** (2006) Introduction. In J-C Depaule (ed.) *Les mots de la stigmatisation urbaine* (pp. 1-8). Paris: UNESCO / Editions des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Derderian, R. L.** (1997) Broadcasting from the margins: Minority ethnic radio in contemporary France. In A. Hargreaves and M. McKinney (eds.) *Post-Colonial Cultures in France* (pp. 99-114). London: Routledge.
- Derville, G.** (1997a) La stigmatisation des "jeunes de banlieue". *Communication et langages*, 113: 104-117.
- Derville, G.** (1997b) Les stéréotypes ont la vie dure. In CURAPP (ed.) *La Politique Ailleurs* (pp. 194-206). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Desplanques, G. and Tabard, N.** (1991) La localisation de la population étrangère. *Économie et Statistiques*, 242: 51-62.
- DeVerteuil, G., Marr, M. and Snow, D.** (2009) Any space left? Homeless resistance by place-type in Los Angeles County. *Urban Geography*, 30(6): 633-651.
- Dijker, A. and Koomen, W.** (2007) *Stigmatization, Tolerance and Repair: An Integrative Psychological Analysis of Responses to Deviance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dikeç, M.** (2006a) Two decades of French urban policy: From social development of neighbourhoods to the Republican penal state. *Antipode*, 38(1): 59-81.
- Dikeç, M.** (2006b) Badlands of the Republic? Revolts, the French state and the question of the banlieues. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24: 159-163.
- Dikeç, M.** (2007a) *Badlands of the Republic: Space, Politics, and Urban Policy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dikeç, M.** (2007b) Space, governmentality, and the geographies of French urban policy. *European and Regional Studies*, 14(4): 277-289.
- Dilsizian, A.** (2007) Seeing beyond rebellious artistic practices. *Re-public: Re-Imaging Democracy*, online: <http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=177> [Last accessed: 28-01-2011].
- Direche-Slimani, K. and Le Houérou, F.** (2002) *Les Comoriens à Marseille: d'une mémoire à l'autre*. Paris: Éditions Autrement.
- Domergue, R.** (1997) Enquête sur la fêria de Nîmes. *DESS*, 110: 19-28.
- Domergue, R.** (2006) *L'intégration des pieds-noirs dans les villages du Midi*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Donadey, A.** (1996) "Une certaine idée de la France": The Algeria syndrome and struggles over "French" identity. In S. Ungar and T. Conley (eds.) *Identity Papers: Contested Nationhood in Twentieth Century France* (pp.215-232). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Donzelot, J.** (2005 [1977]) *La police des familles*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.

- Donzelot, J.** (2006) *Quand la ville se défait: Quelle politique face à la crise des banlieues*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Doran, M.** (2007) Alternative French, alternative identities: Situating language in *la banlieue*. *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 11(4): 497-508.
- Dorlin, E.** (2009a) *Sexe, race, classe: Pour une épistémologie de la domination*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France / Actuel Marx Confrontation.
- Dorlin, E.** (2009b) *La matrice de la race: Généalogie sexuelle et coloniale de la Nation française*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Douglas, M.** (1999 [1987]) *Comment pensent les institutions*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Douglas, M.** (2002 [1966]) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concept of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge.
- Dovidio, J. F., Major, B. and Crocker, J.** (2000) Stigma: Introduction and overview. In T. F. Heatherton, R. R. Kleck, M. R., Hebl and J. G. Hull (eds.) *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp. 1-28). New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Dowling, R.** (2009) Geographies of identity: Landscapes of class. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(6): 833-839.
- Doytcheva, M.** (2007) *Une discrimination positive à la française*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Driver, F.** (1988) Moral geographies: Social science and the urban environment in mid-nineteenth century England. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13: 275-287.
- Dubedout, H.** (1984) *Ensemble, refaire la ville*. Rapport de la CNSQD au Premier Ministre, Paris: Documentation Française. Collection des rapports officiels.
- Dubet, F.** (1987) *La galère: Jeunes en survie*. Paris: Fayard.
- Dubet, F. and Lapeyronnie, D.** (1992) *Les quartiers d'exil*. Paris: Seuil.
- Dubois, V.** (2003 [1999]) *La vie au guichet: Relation administrative et traitement de la misère*. Paris: Economica.
- Dubost, F.** (1991) Le choix du pavillonnaire. In A. Faure (ed.) *Les premiers banlieusards: Aux origines des banlieues de Paris, 1860-1940* (pp.185-214). Paris: Editions Créaphis.
- Dubreuil, B.** (2003) *Chemins de banlieue: Recherche de soi et engagement professionnel des jeunes issus de l'immigration*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Duchêne, N.** (2002) Langues, immigration, culture: Paroles de la banlieue française. *Meta: Journal des Traducteurs*, 47(1): 30-37.
- Dufaux, F. and Fourcaut, A.** [eds.] (2004) *Le monde des grands ensembles*. Paris: Créaphis.

- Dufaux, F., Fourcaut, A. and Skoutelsky, R.** (2003) *Faire l'histoire des grands ensembles: Bibliographie 1950-1980*. Lyon: ENS Editions.
- Dulong, R. and Paperman, P.** (1992) *La réputation des cités HLM: Enquête sur le langage de l'insécurité*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Dumont, M-J.** (1991) *Le logement social à Paris, 1850-1930: Les Habitations à Bon Marché*. Liège: Pierre Mardaga Éditeur.
- Duncan, J.** (1995) Landscape geography, 1993-94. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19(3): 414-422.
- Duncombe, S.** [ed.] (2002) *Cultural Resistance Reader*. London: Verso.
- Duprez, D.** (2009) Urban rioting as an indicator of crisis in the integration model for ethnic minority youth. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(5): 753-770.
- Duprez, D. and Hedli, M.** (1992) *Le mal des banlieues: Sentiment d'insécurité et crise identitaire*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Duret, P.** (1996) *Anthropologie de la fraternité dans les cités*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Durkheim, É.** (1982 [1895]) *The Rules of Sociological Method*. London: The Free Press.
- Durkheim, É.** (2007 [1893]) *De la division du travail social*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Durkheim, É. and Mauss, M.** (1903) De quelques formes élémentaires de classification: Contribution à l'étude des représentations collectives. *Année Sociologique*, 6: 1-72.
- Dutil, L.** (1908) L'industrie de la soie à Nîmes jusqu'en 1789. *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 10(4): 318-343.
- Dutta, M. J.** (2011) *Communicating Social Change: Structure, Culture, Agency*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Duvaux, (2009)** *L'autonomie des assistés: Sociologie des politiques d'insertion*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Dyos, H. J.** (1967) The slums of Victorian London. *Victorian Studies*, 11(1): 5-40.
- Dyos, H. J. and Reeder, D. A.** (1973) Slums and suburbs. In J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds.) *The Victorian City, Images and Realities: Volume II* (pp. 159-186). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Elden, S.** (2003) Plague, panopticon, police. *Surveillance and Society*, 1(3): 240-253.
- Elden, S.** (2004) *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the possible*. London: Continuum.
- Elias, N. and Scotson, J. L.** (1994 [1965]) *The Established and the Outsiders: A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems*. London: Sage.
- El Yazami, D.** (1997) France's ethnic minority press. In A. G. Hargreaves and M. McKinney (eds.) *Post-Colonial Cultures in France* (pp. 115-130). London: Routledge.

- Emmison, M.** (2004) The conceptualization and analysis of visual data. In D. Silverman (ed.) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (pp. 246-265). London: Sage.
- England, K. V. L.** (1994) Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1): 80-90.
- Epstein, R.** (2013) *La rénovation urbaine: Démolition-reconstruction de l'État*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.
- Ervine, J.** (2008) Citizenship and belonging in suburban France: The music of Zebda. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 7(2): 199-213.
- Estèbe, P.** (2004a) *L'usage des quartiers: Action publique et géographie dans la politique de la ville (1982-1999)*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Estèbe, P.** (2004b) Les quartiers, une affaire d'Etat: Un instrument territorial. In P. Lascoumes and P. Le Galès (eds.) *Gouverner par les instruments* (pp. 47-70). Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.
- ÉCESANRU (Etude du Comité d'Evaluation et de Suivi de l'ANRU)** (2012) *La rénovation urbaine: pour qui ? Contributions à l'analyse des mobilités résidentielles*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- ÉCESANRU (Etude du Comité d'Evaluation et de Suivi de l'ANRU)** (2013) *Politiques de peuplement et logement social: Premiers effets de la rénovation urbaine*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Falk, G.** (2001) *Stigma: How We Treat Outsiders*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Fanon, F.** (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York City: Grove Press.
- Fassin, D.** (2011) *La force de l'ordre: Une anthropologie de la police des quartiers*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Fassin, D. and Fassin, É.** [eds.] (2006) *De la question sociale à la question raciale? Représenter la société française*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Faugier, J. and Sargeant, M.** (2008) Sampling hard to reach populations. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 26(4): 790-797.
- Faure, A.** [ed.] (1991) *Les premiers banlieusards: Aux origines des banlieues de Paris, 1860-1940*. Paris: Créaphis.
- Faure, A.** (2006) Un faubourg, des banlieues, ou la déclinaison du rejet. In J-C Depaule. (ed.) *Les Mots de la Stigmatisation Urbaine* (pp. 9-39). Paris: UNESCO / Editions des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Faure, S.** (2006) De quelques effets sociaux des démolitions d'immeubles: Un grand ensemble HLM à Saint-Étienne. *Espaces et Sociétés*, 124-125(2-3): 191-206.
- Faure, S. and Garcia, M-C.** (2005) *Culture hip-hop, jeunes des cités et politiques publiques*. Paris: La Dispute.

- Feldman, R. M. and Hall, S.** (2004) *The Dignity of Resistance: Women Residents' Activism in Chicago Public Housing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Felouzis, G., Liot, F. and Perroton, J.** (2005) *L'apartheid scolaire: Enquête sur la ségrégation ethnique au collège*. Paris: Seuil.
- Financial Times** (2005) Polygamy 'played part in French riots', November 16th. Available online: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/b5e74906-5645-11da-b04f-00000e25118c.html#axzz2Cqg8sXMx> [Last accessed: 13-09-2012].
- Fincher, R. and Jacobs, J. M.** [eds.] (1998) *Cities of Difference*. New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Fitoussi, J-P., Laurent, E. and Maurice, J.** (2003) *Ségrégation urbaine et intégration sociale*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Flick, U.** (2009 [1998]) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Flick, U., von Kardoff, E. and Steinke, I.** [eds.] (2004) *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Flusty, S.** (2000) Thrashing downtown: Play as resistance to the spatial representational regulation of Los Angeles. *Cities*, 17(2): 149-158.
- FNOHLM** [Fédération nationale de l'office des habitations à loyer modérés] (2007) *La rénovation des quartiers d'habitat social*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Foff Paules, G.** (1991) *Dishing it Out: Power and Resistance among Waitresses in a New Jersey Restaurant*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Fortuin, J. D. and van Kempen, E.** (1998) Territoriale stigmatisering in Nederlandse steden. *Geografie*, 7: 32-34.
- Foucault, M.** (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin.
- Foucault, M.** (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M.** (2002 [1969]) *Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M.** (2003) *'Il faut défendre la société': Cours au Collège de France, 1976*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Fourcaut, A.** (1993) Banlieues d'hier: Les zoniers d'aujourd'hui. *Panoramiques*, 12: 14-17.
- Fourcaut, A.** (1996) *La ville divisée: Les ségrégations urbaines en questions. France XVII^e-XX^e siècle*. Paris: Créaphis.
- Fourcaut, A.** (1999) La cité-jardin contre le lotissement. *Urbanisme*, 309: 22-24.
- Fourcaut, A.** (2000a) Pour en finir avec la banlieue. *Géocarrefour*, 75(2): 101-105.

- Fourcaut, A.** (2000b) *La banlieue en morceaux: La crise des lotissements défectueux en France dans l'entre-deux guerres*. Paris: Créaphis.
- Fourcaut, A.** (2000c) Aux origines du film de banlieue: Les banlieusards au cinéma, 1930-1980. *Sociétés et Représentations*, 8: 113-126.
- Fourcaut, A.** (2002) Peurs dans la ville, peur de la ville. *Histoire Urbaine*, 2(2): 5-7.
- Fourcaut, A.** (2003) L'histoire urbaine de la France contemporaine: Etats des lieux. *Histoire Urbaine*, 8(2): 171-185.
- Fourcaut, A.** (2004) Les premiers grands ensembles en région parisienne: Ne pas refaire la banlieue ? *French Historical Studies*, 27(1): 195-218.
- Fourcaut, A.** (2007) Les banlieues populaires ont aussi une histoire. *Projet*, 299(4): 7-15.
- Fourcaut, A., Bellanger, E. and Flonneau, M.** [eds.] (2007) *Paris/Banlieues: Conflits et solidarités*. Paris: Créaphis.
- Fourastié, J.** (2011 [1979]) *Les Trente Glorieuses*. Paris: Fayard/Pluriel.
- Frale, D. E.** (1993) Dimension of marginality: Distinctions among those who are different. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39: 370-380.
- Frale, D. E.** (1997) Gender, racial, ethnic, sexual, and class identities. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 48: 139-162.
- Frale, D. E., Platt, L. and Hoey, S.** (1998) Concealable stigmas and positive self-perceptions: Feeling better around similar others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(4): 909-922.
- Fraser, N. and Gordon, L.** (1994) 'Dependency' demystified: Inscriptions of power in a keyword of the welfare state. *Social Politics*, 1(1): 4-31.
- Frey, J-P.** (1995) *La ville industrielle et ses urbanités: La distinction ouvriers/employés, Le Creuset 1850-1930*. Bruxelles: Mardaga.
- Fried, M.** (1966) Grieving for a lost home: Psychological costs of relocation. In J. Wilson (ed.) *Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy* (pp.358-379). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Frow, J. A.** (1991) Michel de Certeau and the practice of representation. *Cultural Studies*, 5(1): 52-60.
- Fyfe, N.** (2004) Zero tolerance, maximum surveillance? Deviance, difference and crime control in the late modern city. In L. Lees (ed.) *The Emancipatory City? Paradoxes and Possibilities* (pp. 40-56). London: Sage.
- Gal, S.** (1991) Between speech and silence: The problematics of research on language and gender. In M. di Leonardo (ed.) *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era* (pp. 175-203). Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Garcia, M-C.** (2011) Des mobilisations de femmes en tant que femmes 'racisées': Les militantes des mouvements Ni putes ni soumises et des Indigènes de la République. In S. Bérout, B. Gobille, A. Hajjat and M. Zancarini-Fournel (eds.) *Engagements, rebellions et genre dans les quartiers populaires en Europe* (pp. 79-92). Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines.
- Garnier-Muller, A.** (2000) *Les "inutiles": Survivre en banlieue et dans la rue*. Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier
- Gastaut, Y.** (2004) Les bidonvilles, lieux d'exclusion et de marginalité en France durant les trente glorieuses. *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 69: Available online: <http://cdlm.revues.org/index829.html> (last accessed 08-12-2011).
- Gates, H. L.** (1988) *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geertz, C.** (2003 [1973]) Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Jenks (ed.) *Culture: Critical Concepts in Sociology* (pp. 173-196). London: Routledge.
- Geisser, V.** (2003) *La nouvelle islamophobie*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Genestier, P.** (1999) Le sortilège du quartier: Quand le lieu est censé faire lien. *Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, 82: 142-153.
- Genette, G.** (1997 [1987]) *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Georges, M.** (1985) *Les petits métiers d'autrefois dans les rues de Nîmes*. Nîmes: Lacour Librairie Éditeur.
- Geremek, B.** (1987) *La potence ou la pitié: L'Europe et les pauvres du Moyen Âge à nos jours*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Geremek, B.** (2006 [1976]) *The Margins of Paris in Post-Medieval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Germes, M.** (2011) Discourses of (in-)security and policing: The constitution of large housing estates as dangerous places in Europe. Paper presented at the Association of American Geographers annual meeting, Seattle, 13th of April.
- Gerstel, N. G.** (1987) Divorce and stigma. *Social Problems*, 34: 172-186.
- Gibson, K.** (1998) Social polarization and the politics of difference: Discourses in collision or collusion?. In R. Fincher and J. M. Jacobs (eds.) *Cities of Difference* (pp. 301-316). New York City: Guilford Press.
- Giddens, A.** (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Giddens, A.** (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A.** (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gilbert, M. R.** (1997) Feminism and difference in urban geography. *Urban Geography*, 18(2): 166-179.
- Gilbert, M. R.** (2010) Place, space, and agency: Moving beyond the homogenous "ghetto". *Urban Geography*, 31(2): 148-152.
- Gillette, A.** and **Sayad, A.** (1984) [1976] *L'immigration Algérienne en France*. Paris: Éditions Entente.
- Gilroy, P.** (1987) *'There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack': The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*. London: Hutchinson.
- Glasze, G., Brailich, A., Germes, M., Schirmel, H.** and **Pütz, R.** (2010) Menaces pour l'ordre social? Une lecture géographique et politique des discours sur les grands ensembles de banlieue en Allemagne, France et Pologne. *Annales de Géographie*, 675: 515-535.
- Glasze, G., Pütz, R., Germes, M., Schirmel, H.** and **Brailich, A.** (2012) "The same but not the same": The discursive constitution of large housing estates in Germany, France, and Poland. *Urban Geography*, 33(8): 1192-1211.
- Gleeson, B.** and **Kearns, R. A.** (2001) Remoralising landscapes of care. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 19(1): 61-80.
- Goetz, E.** (2003) *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. Washington D.C.: Urban Institute Press.
- Goffman, E.** (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin.
- Goffman, E.** (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. London: Penguin Books.
- Goffman, E.** (2009 [1971]) *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. Piscataway N.J.: Transaction Publishers.
- Golay, A.** (2007) Féminisme et postcolonialisme: Beauvoir, Fanon et la guerre d'Algérie. *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 10(3): 407-424.
- Göle, N.** (2005) *Interpénétrations: l'Islam et l'Europe*. Paris: Galaade Éditions.
- Goldstein, B.** (2007) All photos lie: Images as data. In G. C. Stanczak (ed.) *Visual research methods: Image, society, and representation* (pp. 61-82). London: Sage.
- Goldstein, D. M.** (2003) *Laughter out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*. London: University of California Press.
- Goldstein, K.** (2002) Getting in the door: Sampling and completing elite interviews. *Political Science and Politics*, 35(4): 669-674.

- Gondola, D.** (2009) Transient citizens: The Othering and indigenization of *Blacks* and *Beurs* within the French Republic. In C. Tshimanga, D. Gondola and P. J. Bloom (eds.) *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (pp. 146-166). Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Grafmeyer, Y.** (1994) Regards sociologiques sur la ségrégation. In J. Brun and C. Rhein (eds.) *La ségrégation dans la ville: Concepts et mesures*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Gray, N.** and **Mooney, G.** (2001) Glasgow's new urban frontier: "Civilising" the population of "Glasgow East". *City* 15(1): 4-24.
- Green, G.** (2009) *The End of Stigma? Changes in the Social Experience of Long-Term Illness*. London: Routledge.
- Green, H.** and **Booth, P.** (1996) Six years of urban policy in France: The *contrat de ville* programme. *Modern & Contemporary France*, 4(2): 183-192.
- Greenberg, M.** and **Hollander, J.** (2006) Neighborhood stigma twenty years later: Revisiting superfund sites in suburban New Jersey. *The Appraisal Journal*, 74(2): 161-173.
- Greuet, C.** (2012) Languedoc Roussillon: La pauvreté est grande dans les villes de la région. *Le Midi Libre*, 28th of August.
- Grewal, K.** (2007) 'The threat from within': Representations of the banlieue in French popular discourse. In M. Killingsworth (ed.) *Europe: New Voices, New Perspectives*. (pp. 41-67). Melbourne: Europe Research Centre.
- Grewal, K.** (2011) Les Indigènes de la République: Postcolonial studies à la française. Paper presented at the European Association of Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies, Istanbul 26-30 April 2011.
- Grosz, E.** (1994) *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Groupe Reflex** (2010) 'Diagnostic en marchant: Gestion Urbaine de Proximité - Département du Gard, Nîmes Quartier Pissevin'. Feedback document, 24th February.
- Groux, G.** and **Lévy, C.** (1993) *La possession ouvrière: Du taudis à la propriété*. Ivry-sur-Seine: Les Éditions de l'Atelier/Éditions Ouvrières.
- Grunberg, G.** and **Schweisguth, É** (1996) Pierre Bourdieu et la misère: Une approche réductionniste. *Revue Française de Sciences Politiques*, 46(1): 134-155.
- Gruner, S.** (2010) "The others don't want..." Small-scale segregation: Hegemonic public discourses and racial boundaries in German neighbourhoods. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2): 275-292.

- Guérin-Pace, F.** (2007) Le quartier entre appartenance et attachement: Une échelle identitaire ?. In J-Y Authier, M-H Bacqué and F. Guérin-Pace (eds.) *Le Quartier: Enjeux Scientifiques, Actions Politiques et Pratiques Sociales* (pp. 151-162). Paris: La Découverte.
- Guibernau, M.** (2013) *Belonging: Solidarity and Division in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Habib, A.** (1997) La ville 'périphérique' pourrait devenir le chantier du prochain siècle. *Le Monde*, 24th of October.
- Hacking, I.** (2004) Between Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman: Between discourse in the abstract and face-to-face interaction. *Economy and Society*, 33(3): 277-302.
- Hadj Belgacem, S.** and **Beaud, S.** (2010) Compréhension et distanciation. Paroles de jeunes sur les émeutes de 2005. In D. Fassin (ed.) *Les nouvelles frontières de la société française* (pp. 323-342). Paris: La Découverte.
- Haenfler, R.** (2004) Rethinking subcultural resistance: Core values of the straight edge movement. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 33(4): 406-436.
- Hagedorn, J. M.** (2008) *World of Gangs: Armed Young Men and Gangsta Culture*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hamidi, C.** (2011) L'ethnicité en politique: Eléments sur le rapport au politique des jeunes issus de l'immigration dans les quartiers populaires. In S. Bérout, B. Gobbie, A. Hajjat and M. Zancarini-Fournel (eds.) *Engagements, rebellions et genre dans les quartiers populaires en Europe* (pp. 125-138). Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines.
- Halbwachs, M.** (1920) Les plans d'extension et d'aménagement de paris avant le XIXe siècle. In *La vie urbaine*: 3-28. Electronic copy. Available online: http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Halbwachs_maurice/classes_morphologie/partie_3/texte_3_2/plans_extension_paris.pdf
- Hall, Stuart** (1992) The West and the rest: Discourse and power. In S. Hall and B. Gieben (eds.) *Formations of Identity* (pp.275-231). Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press / The Open University.
- Hall, Stuart** (1996) For Allon White: Metaphors of transformation. In D. Morley and K-H. Chen (eds.) *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, Stuart** (1997a) The work of representation. In S. Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp. 13-73). London: Sage.
- Hall, Stuart** (1997b) The spectacle of the 'other'. In S. Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp.223-290). London: Sage.
- Hall, Stuart** (2000) Who needs identity? In P. du Gay, J. Evans and P. Redman (eds.) *Identity: A Reader* (pp. 15-30). London: Sage.
- Hall, Stuart** (2001) Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, and S. J. Yates (eds.) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader* (pp. 72-81). London: Sage Publishing.

- Hall, S. and Jefferson, T.** (1993 [1975]) *Rituals of Resistance: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Hall, Suzanne** (2013) *City, Street and Citizen: The Measure of the Ordinary*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Hamel, C.** (2003) Faire tourner les meufs: viols collectifs, discours des médias et des agresseurs: Femmes violentées, femmes violentes. *Gradhiva*, 33: 85-92.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P.** (2007 [1983]) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Hancock, C.** (2008) Décoloniser les représentations: Esquisse d'une géographie culturelle de nos "Autres". *Annales de Géographie*, 660-661(2-3): 116-128.
- Hanley, L.** (2007) *Estates: An Intimate History*. London: Granta.
- Hansen, N. and Philo, C.** (2007) The normality of doing things differently: Bodies, spaces and disability geography. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*. 98(4): 493-506.
- Haraway, D.** (1988) Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3): 575-599.
- Haraway, D.** (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs and Women*. London: Free Association Press.
- Harding, S.** (1986) *The Science Question in Feminism*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Hardy, C. and Phillips, N.** (2004) Discourse and power. In D. Grant, C. Hardy, C. Osrick and L. Putman *Organizational Discourse* (pp.299-316). London: Sage
- Hargreaves, A. G.** (1994) 'A deviant construction: The French media and the "banlieues"'. Paper presented at the international conference on "Migration, Social Exclusion and the European City" at the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, University of Utrecht: 14-16 April.
- Hargreaves, A. G.** (1997a) Gatekeepers and gateways: Post-colonial minorities and French television. In A. G. Hargreaves and M. McKinney (eds.) *Post-Colonial Cultures in France* (84-98). London: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, A. G.** (1997b) Resistance at the margins: Writers of Maghrebi immigrant origin in France. In A. G. Hargreaves and M. McKinney (eds.) *Post-Colonial Cultures in France* (226-239). London: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, A. G. and McKinney, M.** [eds.] (1997) *Post-Colonial Cultures in France*. London: Routledge.
- Harter, L. M., Berquist, C., Scott Titsworth, B., Novak, D. and Brokaw, T.** (2005) The structuring of invisibility among the hidden homeless: The politics of space, stigma, and identity construction. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 33(4): 305-327.

- Hartsock, N.** (1987) Rethinking modernism: Minority versus majority theories. *Cultural Critique*, 7(Autumn): 187-206.
- Harvey, D.** (1974) What kind of geography for what kind of public policy? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 63: 18-24.
- Harvey, D.** (1990) Between space and time: Reflections on the geographical imagination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80(3): 418-434.
- Harvey, D.** (1993) Class relations, social justice and the politics of difference. In M. Keith and S. Pile (eds.) *Place and the Politics of identity* (pp.41-66). London: Routledge.
- Harvey, W. S.** (2010) Methodological approaches for interviewing elites. *Geography Compass* 4(3): 193–205.
- Harvey, W. S.** (2011) Strategies for conducting elite interviews. *Qualitative Research*, 11(4): 431-441.
- Hastings, A.** (2004) Stigma and social housing estates: beyond pathological explanations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19: 233-54.
- Hastings, A.** and **Dean, J.** (2003) Challenging images: Tackling stigma through estate regeneration. *Policy & Politics*, 31(2): 171-184.
- Hatch, M-J.** and **Yanow, D.** (2008) Methodology by metaphor: Ways of seeing in painting and research. *Organization Studies*, 29: 23-41.
- Hatzfeld, M.** (2006) *La culture des cités: Une énergie positive*. Paris: Autrement.
- Hay, C.** (2011) Interpreting interpretivism, interpreting interpretations: The new hermeneutics of public administration. *Public Administration*, 89(1): 167-182.
- Hay, I.** (1998) Making moral imaginations: Research ethics, pedagogy, and professional human geography. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 1(1): 55-75.
- Hay, I.** (2003) Ethical practice in geographical research. In N. Clifford and G. Valentine (eds.) *Key Methods in Geography* (pp.37-54). London: Sage.
- Hayward, K.** and **Majid, Y.** (2006) The 'chav' phenomenon: Consumption, media and the construction of a new underclass. *Crime, Media, Culture* 2(1): 9-28.
- Healy, M. A.** (2003) Powers of misrecognition: Bourdieu and Wacquant on race in Brazil. *Nepantla: Views From the South*, 4(2): 391-402.
- Heatherton, T. F., Fleck, R. E., Hebl, M. R. and Hull, J. G.** [eds.] (2000) *The Social Psychology of Stigma*. New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Hebdige, D.** (1991 [1979]) *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge.

- Hebl, M. R. and Kleck R. E.** (2000) The social consequences of physical disability. In T. F. Heatherton, R. R. Kleck, M. R., Hebl and J. G. Hull (eds.) *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp. 419-440). New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Heinz, W. R. and Krüger, H.** (2001) Life course: Innovations and challenges for social research. *Current Sociology*, 49(2): 29-45.
- Helleman, G. and Wassenberg, F.** (2004) The renewal of what was tomorrow's idealistic city: Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer high-rise. *Cities*, 21(1): 3-17.
- Henriot-van Zanten, A., Payer, J-P. and Roulleau-Berger, L.** (1994) *L'école dans la ville: Accords et désaccords autour d'un projet politique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Herbert, S.** (2011) Contemporary geographies of exclusion III: To assist or punish? *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(2): 256-263.
- Herek, G. M.** (2000) The psychology of sexual prejudice. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9(1): 19-22.
- Herek, G. M. and Glunt, E. K.** (1988) An epidemic of stigma: Public reactions to AIDS. *American Psychologist*, 43(11): 886-891.
- Heyraud, E.** (2010) *La politique de la ville: Maîtriser les dispositifs et les enjeux*. Paris: Berger-Levrault.
- Hiddleston, J.** (2009) *Understanding Postcolonialism*. Stocksfield: Acumen.
- Holloway, L. and Hubbard, P.** (2001) *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.
- Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T.** (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method*. London: Sage.
- Holston, J.** (2008) *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton: University of Princeton Press.
- hooks, b.** (1986 [1982]) *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. London: Pluto Press.
- hooks, b.** (1990a) Marginality as a site of resistance. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. Minh-Ha and C. West (eds.) *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (pp. 341-343). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- hooks, b.** (1990b) Talking back. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. Minh-Ha and C. West (eds.) *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (pp. 337-340). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- hooks, b.** (1992) *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston: South End Press.
- hooks, b.** (1994) *Outlaw Culture*. London: Routledge.
- hooks, b.** (2000) *Where We Stand: Class Matters*. London: Routledge.

- hooks, b.** (2003) *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem*. London: Atria Books.
- Hopkins, P. and Smith, S. J.** (2008) Scaling segregation, racialising fear. In R. Pain and S.J. Smith (eds.) *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life* (pp.103-116). Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Horvarth, C.** (2011) Voices from the ghetto? *Banlieue* mythmaking in contemporary French narratives. *Transitions: Journal of Franco-Iberian Studies*, 7: 140-161.
- Hourcade, B. and Kian-Thiébaud, A.** (2001) Nommer les banlieues Téhéran. In H. Rivière d'Arc (ed.) *Nommer les Nouveaux Territoires Urbains* (pp. 189-210). Paris: UNESCO.
- Howard, E.** (2001 [1903]) *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. New York: Sens & Tonka.
- Howarth, C.** (2006) Race as stigma: Positioning the stigmatized as agents, not objects. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 16: 442-451.
- Hubbard, P.** (2005) Accommodating otherness: Anti-asylum centre protest and the maintenance of white privilege. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(1): 52-65.
- Hubbard, P.** (2006a) Space/Place. In D. Atkinson, P. Jackson, D. Sibley and N. Washbourne (eds.) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts* (pp. 41-48). London: I.B. Tauris.
- Hubbard, P.** (2006b) *City*. London: Routledge.
- Hughes, J. A. and Sharrock, W.** (1997) *The Philosophy of Social Research*. Harlow: Longman.
- Huq, R.** (2006) *Beyond Subculture: Pop, Youth and Identity in a Postcolonial World*. London: Routledge.
- Huttman, E. D., Blauw, W. and Saltman, J.** [eds.] (1992) *Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States*.
- Huyssen, A.** [ed.] (2008) *Other Cities, Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing World*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hyra, D. S.** (2008) *The New Urban Renewal: The Economic Transformation of Harlem and Bronzeville*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- INSEE** (2012) Chiffres clés: Evolution et structure de la population. Commune de Sarcelles. Available online: http://www.statistiques-locales.insee.fr/FICHES/DL/DEP/95/COM/DL_COM95585.pdf [last accessed 28-08-2012]
- Inzlicht, M., McKay, L. and Aronson, J.** (2006) Stigma as ego depletion: How being the target affects self-control. *Psychological Science*, 17(3): 262-269.
- Inzlicht, M., Aronson, J. and Mendoza-Denton, R.** (2009) On being the target of prejudice: Educational implications. In F. Butera and J. M. Levine (eds.) *Coping with Minority Status: Responses to Exclusion and Inclusion* (pp. 13-37). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Ireland, S.** (2004) Representations of the *banlieues* in the contemporary Marseillais *polar*. *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 8(1): 21-29.
- Iveson, K.** (2007) *Publics and the City*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Jackson, J. L. Jr.** (2001) *Harlemworld: Doing Race and Class in Contemporary Black America*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Jackson, P.** (1980) A plea for cultural geography. *Area*, 12: 110-113.
- Jackson, P.** (1981) Phenomenology and social geography. *Area*, 13: 299-305.
- Jackson, P.** (1989) *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography*. London: Unwyn Hyman.
- Jackson, P.** (1991) The crisis of representation and the politics of position. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9(2): 131-134.
- Jackson, P.** (1993) Visibility and voice. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 11: 123-126.
- Jackson, P.** (1998) Constructions of 'whiteness' in the geographical imagination. *Area*, 30(2): 99-106.
- Jacobs, J.** (1993 [1961]) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Jacobs, J. M.** (1996) *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the city*. London: Routledge.
- Jacobs, J. M.** (2006) A geography of big things. *Cultural Geographies*, 13: 1-27.
- Jacobs, J. M., Cairns, S. and Strebel, I.** (2006) 'A tall storey... but, a fact just the same': The Red Road highrise as a black box. Online papers archived by the Institute of Geography, School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh.
- Jamin, M.** (2004) "Beurs" and accent des cités: A case study of linguistic diffusion in La Courneuve. *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 8(2): 169-176.
- Jargowski, P.A.** (1998) Urban poverty, race, and the inner city: The bitter fruit of thirty years of neglect. In F.R. Harris and L.A. Curtis (eds.) *Locked in the Poorhouse: Cities, Race, and Poverty in the United States* (pp.79-94). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Jazouli, A.** (1995) *Une saison en banlieue: Courants et prospective dans les quartiers populaires*. Paris: Plon.
- Jensen, S. Q. and Christensen, A-D.** (2012) Territorial stigmatization and local belonging: A study of the Danish neighbourhood of Aalborg East. *City*, 16(1-2): 74-92.
- Joas, H.** (1987) Symbolic interactionism. In A. Giddens and J. Turner (eds.) *Social Theory Today* (pp. 82-115). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Jobard, F.** (2005) Le nouveau mandat policier: Faire la police dans les zones dites de 'non-droit'. *Criminologie*, 38(2): 103-121.

- Jobard, F.** (2006) Police, justice et discriminations raciales. In D. Fassin and E. Fassin (eds.) *De la question sociale à la question raciale* (pp. 211-229). Paris: La Découverte.
- Jobard, F.** (2009) Rioting as a political tool: The 2005 riots in France. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 48(3): 235-244.
- Johns, M., Schmader, T. and Martens, A.** (2005) Knowing is half the battle: Teaching stereotype threat as a means of improving women's math performance. *Psychological Science*, 16(3): 175-179.
- Johnson, C. and Coleman, A.** (2012) The internal Other: Exploring the dialectical relationship between regional exclusion and the construction of national identity. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102(4): 863-880.
- Johnson, M.** (1993) *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Johnston, R.J.** (1986) *Philosophy and Human Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Approaches*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Joly, J.** (1995) Géographie de la violence urbaine en banlieue. *Espace, Populations, Sociétés*, 13(3): 323-328.
- Jones, C.** (2004) *Paris: The Biography of a City*. London: Viking Press.
- Jones, E., Farina, A., Hastorf, A., Markus, H., Miller, D. and Scott, R.** (1984). *Social Stigma: The Psychology of Marked Relationships*. New York: Freeman.
- Jones, P. and Krzyżanowski, M.** (2008) Identity, belonging and migration: Beyond constructing 'others'. In G. Delanty, R. Wodak and P. Jones (eds.) *Identity, Belonging and Migration* (pp. 38-53). Liverpool: Liverpool University press.
- Jordi, J-J.** (1995) *L'arrivée des pieds-noirs en France*. Paris: Autrement.
- Jordi, J-J.** (2002) Les pieds-noirs: Constructions identitaires et réinvention des origines. *Hommes et Migrations*, 1236: 14-25.
- Jouenne, N.** (2005) *La vie collective des habitants du Corbusier*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Jouenne, N.** (2007) *Dans l'ombre du Corbusier: Ethnologie de l'habitat collectif ordinaire*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Juhem, P.** (2000) "Civiliser" la banlieue. Logiques et conditions d'efficacité des dispositifs étatiques de régulation de la violence dans les quartiers populaires. *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 50(1): 53-72.
- Jussim, L., Palumbo, P., Chatman, C., Madon, S. and Smith, A.** (2000) Stigma and self-fulfilling prophecies. In T. F. Heatherton, R. R. Kleck, M. R., Hebl and J. G. Hull (eds.) *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp. 374-418). New York City: The Guilford Press.

- Kaës, R.** (1963) *Vivre dans les grands ensembles*. Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières.
- Kahn-Harris, K.** (2007) *Extreme Metal: Music and Culture on the Edge*. Oxford: Berg.
- Kalff, E.** (2008) *Le logement insalubre et l'hygiénisation de la vie quotidienne: Paris (1830-1990)*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Kaplan, S.** (1988) Les corporations, les faux ouvriers' et le Faubourg Saint-Antoine au XVIII^e siècle. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 43(2): 353-378.
- Karner, C.** (2007) *Ethnicity and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge.
- Kastoryano, R.** (2004) Religion and Incorporation: Islam in France and Germany. *International Migration Review*, 38(3): 1234-1255.
- Kastoryano, R.** (2006) Territories of identity in France. In 'Riots in France', Social Science Research Council. Available online: <http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org/Kastoryano/> [Last accessed: 02/08/2012].
- Katz, C.** (2004) *Growing up Global: Economic Restructuring and Children's Everyday Lives*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Katz, I.** (1988) *Stigma : A Social Psychological Analysis*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Keaton, T. D.** (2006) *Muslim Girls and the Other France: Race, Identity Politics, and Social Exclusion*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Keene, D. E. and Padilla, M. B.** (2010) Race, class, and the stigma of place: Moving to 'opportunity' in Eastern Iowa. *Health & Place*, 16(6): 1216-1223.
- Keith, M. and Cross, M.** (1993) Racism and the postmodern city. In M. Cross and M. Keith (eds.) *Racism, the City and the State* (pp.1-30). London: Routledge.
- Keith, M. and Pile, S.** (1993) The politics of place / The place of politics. In M. Keith and S. Pile (eds.) *Place and the Politics of identity* (pp.1-40). London: Routledge.
- Kelfaoui, S.** (1990) *La formation de 'ghetto' en France ? Un exemple: les Bosquets à Montfermeil*. Unpublished Masters thesis under the direction of Béatrice Giblin, Geography. University of Paris 8.
- Kelley, R. D. G.** (1996) *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York: The Free Press.
- Kelly, M.** [ed.] (1991) *Hermeneutics and Critical Theory in Ethics and Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kepel, G.** (1991) *Les banlieues de l'Islam: naissance d'une religion en France*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Kepel, G.** (2012a) *Banlieue de la République: Société, politique et religion à Clichy-sous-Bois et Montfermeil*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Kepel, G.** (2012b) *Quatre-vingt treize*. Paris: Gallimard.

- Khiari, S.** (2006) *Pour une politique de la racaille: Immigré-e-s, indigènes et jeunes de banlieue*. Paris: Textuel.
- Khosrokhavar, F.** (2000) La violence et ses avatars dans les quartiers sensibles. *Déviance et Société*, 24(4): 425-440.
- King, N. and Horrocks, C.** (2010) *Interviews in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Kipfer, S.** (2012) Ghetto or not ghetto, telle n'est pas la seule question: Quelques remarques sur la "race", l'espace et l'Etat à Paris. In F. Boggio Ewanjé-Epée, S. Magliani-Belkacem (eds.) *Race et capitalisme* (pp.125-146). Paris: Syllepse.
- Kirkness, P.** (2014) The *cités* strike back: Challenging territorial taint in the French *banlieues*. *Environment and Planning D*, forthcoming.
- Kitchin, R.** (1998) 'Out of place', 'Knowing one's place': Space, power and the exclusion of disabled people. *Disability and Society*, 13(3): 343-356.
- Kohler Riessman, C.** (1993) *Narrative Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Kohler Riessman, C.** (2000) Stigma and everyday resistance practices: Childless women in South India. *Gender and Society*, 14(1): 111-135.
- Kokoreff, M.** (2003) *La force des quartiers: de la délinquance à l'engagement politique*. Paris: Payot.
- Kokoreff, M.** (2007) Pauvres quartiers ! Complexité de l'objet et ambivalence des phénomènes. In J-Y Authier, M-H Bacqué and F. Guérin-Pace (eds.) *Le Quartier: Enjeux Scientifiques, Actions Politiques et Pratiques Sociales* (pp. 242-252). Paris: La Découverte.
- Kokoreff, M.** (2008) *Sociologie des Émeutes*. Paris: Payot.
- Kokoreff, M., Steinauer, O. and Barron, P.** (2007) Les émeutes urbaines a l'épreuve des situations locales. *SociologieS*, URL: <http://sociologies.revues.org/index254.html> [Last accessed 21/01/2010].
- Kokoreff, M. and Lapeyronnie, D.** (2013) *Refaire la cité: L'avenir des banlieues*. Paris: Seuil.
- Krase, J.** (1977) Reactions to the stigmata of inner city living. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 7(4): 997-1011.
- Kristeva, J.** (1980) *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kristeva, J.** (1984) *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. New York: The University of Columbia Press.
- Kristeva, J.** (1991) *Strangers to Ourselves*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kuhn, T.** (1996 [1962]) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

- Kurzban, R. and Leary, M. R.** (2001) Evolutionary origins of stigmatization: The functions of social exclusion. *Psychological Bulletin*, 127(2): 187-208.
- Kvale, S.** (1996) *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage.
- Kvale, S.** (2006) Dominance through interviews and dialogues. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(3): 480-500.
- Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S.** (2008) *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage.
- Labbé, D. and Perrin, F.** (1990) *Que reste-t-il de Billancourt ? Enquête sur la culture d'entreprise*. Paris: Hachette.
- Lacoste, Y.** (1959) Aspects géographiques généraux de la construction. *Annales de Géographie*, t.58, n°366: 121-153.
- Lacouture, J.** (1979) *Léon Blum*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Lafitte, B.** (1980) Les quartiers de Nîmes, l'espace urbain et la sa perception par les enfants. *Bulletin de la Société Languedocienne de Géographie*, 4, November-December: 383-400.
- Lagopoulos, A. P.** (1993) Postmodernism, geography and the semiotics of space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 11(3): 255-278.
- Lagrange, H.** (2006) Autopsie d'une vague d'émeutes. In H. Lagrange and M. Oberti (eds.) *Émeutes urbaines et protestations: Une singularité française* (pp. 37-58). Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale de Sciences Politiques.
- Lagrange, H. and Oberti, M.** (2006) Intégration, ségrégation et justice sociale. In H. Lagrange and M. Oberti (eds.) *Émeutes urbaines et protestations: Une singularité française* (pp. 11-36). Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale de Sciences Politiques.
- Lamont, M.** (2004) Immigration and the salience of racial boundaries among French workers. In H. Chapman and L.L. Frader (eds.) *Race in France: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of Difference* (pp.141-161). Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Landauer, P.** (2010) *L'invention du grand ensemble, la Caisse des dépôts maître d'ouvrage*. Paris: Picard.
- Lapeyronnie, D.** (2006) La banlieue comme théâtre colonial, ou la fracture coloniale dans les quartiers. In P. Blanchard, N. Bancel and S. Lemaire (eds.) *La fracture coloniale: La société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (pp. 213-222). Paris: La Découverte.
- Lapeyronnie, D.** (2008) *Ghetto urbain: Ségrégation, violence, pauvreté en France aujourd'hui*. Paris: Éditions Laffont.
- Lapeyronnie, D.** (2009) Primitive rebellion in the French *banlieues*: On the Fall 2005 riots. In C. Tshimanga, D. Gondola and P. J. Bloom (eds.) *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (pp. 21-46). Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

- Lapeyronnie, D.** (2012) Refaire la cité: Métamorphoses des quartiers populaires et politique. In R. Cortéséro (ed.) *La banlieue change ! Inégalités, justice sociale et action publique dans les quartiers populaires* (pp. 195-206). Lormont: Le Bord de l'Eau.
- Larner, W.** and **Craig, D.** (2005) After neoliberalism? Community activism and local partnerships in Aotearoa, New Zealand. In N. Laurie and L. Bondi (eds.) *Working the Spaces of Neoliberalism* (pp.9-31). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Latour, B.** and **Woolgar, S.** (1979) *Laboratory Life: The Social Construction of Scientific Facts*. Chichester: Princeton University Press.
- Laurence, J.** and **Vaisse, J.** (2006) *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lauronen, S.** (2006) "Ces émeutiers qui n'ont rien dans la tête": Une étude comparée sur la représentation des 'émeutiers' dans les articles de Libération et du Figaro en novembre 2005. Unpublished Masters Thesis. Institute of Language and Translation. University of Tampere, Finland.
- Laville, J-P.** and **Sainseaulieu, R.** (1997) *Sociologie des associations*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Lawson, V.** (2007) Geographies of care and responsibility. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 97(1): 1-11.
- Leblanc, L.** (1999) *Pretty in Punk: Girls' Gender Resistance in a Boys' Subculture*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Le Corbusier** (1964 [1935]) *La ville radieuse: Éléments d'une doctrine d'urbanisme pour l'équipement de la civilisation machiniste*. Paris: Vincent Friel et Cie.
- Le Corbusier** (1971 [1933]) *La Charte d'Athènes*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Le Corbusier** (1987 [1929]) *The City of To-Morrow and its Planning*. Mineola, NY: Dover Architecture.
- Le Corbusier** (2008 [1923]) *Vers une architecture*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Le Goaziou, V.** and **Rojzman, C.** (2006) *Les banlieues*. Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu.
- Lefebvre, H.** (1972) *Le droit à la ville, suivi de Espace et politique*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Lefebvre, H.** (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lefebvre, H.** (2001) Comments on a new state form. *Antipode*, 33(5): 769-782.
- Legoullon, G.** (2000) La politique des cités d'urgence, 1954-1958. Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Paris I.
- Leitner, H.** (2012) Spaces of encounters: Immigration, race, class, and belonging in small town America. *Annals of the Association of Geographers*, 102(4): 828-846.

- Léotard, M-L. and Rivaud, F.** (1979) Vit-on heureux en banlieue ? *L'Express*, 1475 (13-19 October) (cartoons by Sempé): 114-120.
- Lelévrier C.** (2010) La mixité dans la rénovation urbaine: Dispersion ou re-concentration. *Espaces et Sociétés*, 140-141(1-2): 59-74.
- Lelévrier C. and Noyé C.** (2012) La fin des grands ensembles ? In J. Donzelot (ed.) *A quoi sert la rénovation urbaine ?* (pp. 185-221). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Le Nouvel Observateur** (2008) Quand Larcher liait émeutes urbaines et polygamie. 25-09-2012. Available online: <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/politique/20080925.OBS2740/quand-gerard-larcher-liait-les-emeutes-urbaines-a-la-polygamie.html> [Last accessed: 18-09-2012].
- Le Point** (2005) Le programme du lifting. 27th January.
- Le Point** (2006) Violence scolaire. 31st August.
- Le Point** (2007) La France assistée: Les scandales du 'modèle français': Les profiteurs d'allocations, comment sortir du piège. 12th April.
- Lepoutre, D.** (2001 [1997]) *Cœur de banlieue: Codes, rites et langages*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Leservoisier, O.** (2005) *Terrains ethnographiques et hiérarchies sociales: Retour réflexif sur la situation d'enquête*. Paris: Karthala.
- Leveau-Fernandez, M.** (1992) La zone et les fortifs. In A. Fourcaut (ed.) *Banlieue rouge, 1920-1960: Années Thorez, années Gabin: Archétype du populaire, banc d'essai des modernités* (pp. 56-67). Paris: Éditions Autrement.
- Ley, D.** (1977) Social geography and the taken-for-granted world. *Transactions of the Institute British Geographers*, NS, 2(4): 498-512.
- Ley, D.** (1982) Rediscovering man's place. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 7: 248-253.
- Ley, D.** (1985) Cultural/Humanistic Geography. *Progress in Human Geography*, 11(4): 558-564.
- Ley, D.** (1988) Interpretive social research in the inner city. In J. Eyles (ed.) *Research in Human Geography* (p. 121-138). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ley, D. and Cybriwsky, R.** (1974) Urban graffiti as territorial markers. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 63(4): 491-505.
- Ley, D. and Mountz, A.** (2001) Interpretation and the crisis of representation in human geography. In C. Dwyer and M. Limb (eds.) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers* (pp. 234-247). London: Arnold.
- L'Express** (2002) Musulmans en hausse, protestants en baisse. 18th April.
- L'Express** (2005) Nîmes un peu plus sûre: Zoom sur la sécurité. 20th June.

- L'Express** (2008) Nîmes dans 10 ans: Valdegour, Pissevin, Chemin-bas-d'Avignon - un lifting pour les banlieues. 11th December.
- Liauzu, C.** (1995) Les banlieues identitaires. *Confluence Méditerranée*, 16: 93-100.
- Liauzu, C.** (2000) Immigration, colonisation et racisme: Pour une histoire liée. L'héritage colonial, un trou de mémoire. *Hommes et Migrations*, 1228: 5-14.
- Libération** (2005) "Beaucoup de ces africains sont polygames..", 15th of November. Available online: <http://www.liberation.fr/evenement/0101548353-beaucoup-de-ces-africains-sont-polygames> [Last accessed 21-11-2012].
- Libération** (2012) Nîmes, la cité désertée. 3rd of February. Available online: <http://www.liberation.fr/societe/01012387575-nimes-la-cite-desertee> [Last accessed 05-12-2012].
- Liebig, E.** (2010) *Les pauvres préfèrent la banlieue*. Paris: Michalon Éditions.
- Liger, C.** (1987) *Nîmes sans Visa: Portrait d'une ville*. Paris: Ramsay.
- Lin, N.** (2001) *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lochard, G.** (2002) La 'question de la banlieue' à la télévision française: Mise en place et évolution d'un conflit de représentations. In M. Amorim (ed.) *Images et discours sur la banlieue* (pp. 31-41). Toulouse: Érès.
- Longhi, J.** (2012) Représentations et stéréotypes dans la sémiotisation du mythe de la banlieue et des jeunes de banlieue. In B. Turpin (ed.) *Discours et sémiotisation de l'espace: Les représentations de la banlieue et de sa jeunesse* (pp. 123-142). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Longhurst, R.** (2003) Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. In N. Clifford, S. French and G. Valentine (eds.) *Key Methods in Geography* (pp.103-115). London: Sage.
- Longhurst, R.** (2010) Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. In N. Clifford, S. French and G. Valentine (eds.) *Key Methods in Human Geography* (pp.103-115). London: Sage.
- Lorcerie, F.** (2005) Culture, identité, ethnicité. Repenser l'approche interculturelle. In M-M. Bertucci and V. Houdart-Merot (eds.) *Situations de banlieues: enseignement, langues, cultures* (pp. 61-70). Lyon: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique.
- Lüdtke, A.** (1986) Cash. Coffee-breaks. Horseplay: *Eigensinn* and politics among factory workers in Germany circa 1900. In M. Hanagan and C. Stephenson (eds.) *Confrontation, Class Consciousness, and the Labor Process: Studies in Proletarian Class Formation* (pp. 65-95). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Lüdtke, A.** (1992) The appeal of exterminating 'Others': German workers and the limits of resistance. *Journal of Modern History*, 64(suppl): S46-S67.

- Lüdtke, A.** (1996) Ouvriers, *Eigensinn* et politique dans l'Allemagne du XXème siècle. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 113: 91-101.
- Lüdtke, A.** (2000) *Des ouvriers dans l'Allemagne du 20^e siècle: Le quotidien des dictatures*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Lyons, A. H.** (2006) Des bidonvilles aux HLM : Le logement des familles algériennes en France avant l'indépendance de l'Algérie. *Hommes et Migrations*, 1264: 35-49.
- Macé, É.** (1999) Les violences dites 'urbaines' et la ville. *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, 83-84: 59-64.
- Madzou, L.** (2008) *J'étais un chef de gang*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Magri, S. and Topalov, C.** (1987) De la cité-jardin à la ville rationalisée: Un tournant du projet réformateur, 1905-1925. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 28(3): 417-451.
- Maillot, A.** (2008) *Identité nationale et immigration: La liaison dangereuse*. Paris: Les Carnets de l'Info.
- Mairie de Nîmes** (2010) *Rapport sur les Zones Urbaines Sensibles*. Official documentation: Mayoral office in charge of security.
- Major, B. and O'Brien, L.** (2005) The social psychology of stigma. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 56: 393-421.
- Mancebo, F.** (2007) Accompagner les turbulences: Une périurbanisation durable. *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, 102(1): 51-57.
- Mandel, J. L.** (2003) Negotiating expectations in the field: Gatekeepers, research fatigue and cultural biases. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 24(2): 198-210.
- Mann, P. S.** (1994) *Micro-Politics: Agency in a Postfeminist Era*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Marchais, G.** (1965) L'immigration en France. *Cahiers du Communisme*, 11: 1st of November.
- Marchal, H. and Stébé, J-M.** (2008) *La ville: Territoires, logiques, défis*. Paris: Ellipses.
- Marchal, H. and Stébé, J-M.** (2010) The new French ghettos. *Metropolitics*: Available online: <http://www.metropolitiques.eu/The-New-French-Ghettos.html> [Last accessed: 29/09/2012].
- Marchal, H. and Stébé, J-M.** (2012) *Les lieux des banlieues*. Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu.
- Marconot, J-M.** (1988) *La ZUP de Nîmes: Son mode de vie, son langage*. Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry.
- Marconot, J-M.** (1990) *Nîmes: Hier, Demain*. Nîmes: C. Lacour / Colporteur.
- Marconot, J-M.** (1994) *Nîmes: Problèmes d'aujourd'hui*. Nîmes: C. Lacour / Riesc.

- Marconot, J-M.** (1998) *Nîmes, le quartier Gambetta: A l'occasion des vingt ans du comité de quartier*. Nîmes: Riësc.
- Marcus, G. E.** (1992) 'More (critically) reflexive than though': The current identity politics of representation. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 10(5): 489-493.
- Marcuse, P.** (2005) Enclaves yes, ghettos no. In D.P. Varady (ed.) *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves and Inequality* (pp.15-30). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Marlière, É.** (2007) Les 'jeunes de cité' et la police: De la tension à l'émeute. *EMPAN*, 67(3): 26-29.
- Marx-Scouras, D. and Khellaf, K.** (2008) *La France de Zebda: Faire de la musique un acte politique, 1981-2004*. Paris: Éditions Autrement.
- Mascllet, O.** (2003) *La gauche et les cités: Enquête sur un rendez-vous manqué*. Paris: La Dispute.
- Mascllet, O.** (2005) Du "bastion" au "ghetto": Le communisme municipal en butte à l'immigration. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 159(4): 10-25.
- Mascllet, O.** (2006a) Des quartiers sans voix: Sur le divorce entre la gauche et les enfants d'immigrés. *French Politics, Culture and Society*, 24(3): 5-22.
- Mascllet, O.** (2006b) Le silence politique des quartiers. *Economie et Humanisme*, 376: 53-56.
- Maspero, F.** (1994 [1990]) *Roissy-Express: A Journey through the Paris Suburbs*. London: Verso.
- Massey, D.** (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. London: Polity Press.
- Massey, D.** (1996) Space/Power, Identity/Difference: Tensions in the City. In A. Merrifield and E. Swyngedouw (eds.) *The Urbanization of Injustice* (pp. 100-116). London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Massey, D. S. and Denton, N. A.** (1993) *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Massiah, G.** (2005) Soulèvement populaire dans les banlieues et idéologie sécuritaire. In C. Autain et al. (eds.) *Banlieues: Lendemain de révolte* (pp. 81-92). Paris: La Dispute.
- Maudet, J-B.** (2006) Le taureau marque son territoire: Festivités taurines et identités territoriales du Sud-Ouest Européen à l'Amérique Latine. *Annales de Géographie*, 650(4): 361-387.
- Mauger, G.** (2006a) *Les bandes, le milieu et la bohème populaire: Études de sociologie de la déviance des jeunes des classes populaires (1975-2005)*. Paris: Belin.
- Mauger, G.** (2006b) *L'émeute de novembre 2005: Une révolte protopolitique*. Paris: Éditions du Croquant.
- Mauger, G.** (2011) Les raisons de la colère: Sur l'émeute de 2005. In S. Bérout, B. Gobille, A. Hajjat and M. Zancarini-Fournel (eds.) *Engagements, rebellions et genre dans les quartiers populaires en Europe* (pp. 25-42). Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines.

- Maurin, E.** (2004) *Le ghetto français: Enquête sur le séparatisme social*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Maury, Y.** (1997) Les contradictions du néo-libéralisme gestionnaire: L'exemple du système municipal nîmois (1983-1995). *Politique et Management Public*, 15(4): 145-170.
- Maynard-Moddy, S. and Musheno, M.** (2003) *Cops, Teachers, Counselors: Stories from the Front Lines of Public Service*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Mayr, A.** (2004) *Prison Discourse: Language as Means of Control and Resistance*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mbembe, A.** (2006) La République et l'impensé de la "race". In P. Blanchard, N. Bancel and S. Lemaire (eds.) *La fracture coloniale: la société française au prisme de l'héritage colonial* (pp. 143-158). Paris: La Découverte.
- Mbembe, A.** (2009) The Republic and its beast: On the riots in the French *banlieues*. In C. Tshimanga, D. Gondola and P. J. Bloom (eds.) *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (pp. 47-54). Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- McCracken, G.** (1988) *The Long Interview*. London: Sage.
- McDowell, L.** (1991) The baby and the bathwater: Deconstruction and feminist theory in geography. *Geoforum*, 22(2): 123-133.
- McDowell, L.** (1992) Multiple voices: Speaking from inside and outside 'the Project'. *Antipode*, 24(1): 56-71.
- McDowell, L.** (2001) "It's that Linda again": Ethical, practical and political issues involved in longitudinal research with young men. *Ethics, Place and the Environment*, 4(2): 87-100.
- McFarlane, C.** (2011) *Learning the City: Knowledge and Translocal Assemblage*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- McKenzie, L.** (2012) A narrative from the inside, studying St. Anns in Nottingham: Belonging, continuity and change. *The Sociological Review*, 60: 457-475.
- McNay, L.** (1996) Michel de Certeau and the ambivalent everyday. *Social Semiotics*, 6(1): 61-81.
- McNay, L.** (1999) Gender, habitus and the field: Pierre Bourdieu and the limits of reflexivity. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16(1): 95-117.
- McNay, L.** (2000) *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*.
- Meagher, S. M.** (2011) Philosophy in the streets: Walking the city with Engels and de Certeau. *City*, 11(1): 7-20.
- Medina, J.** (2013) *The Epistemology of Resistance: Gender and Racial Oppression, Epistemic Injustice, and Resistant Imaginations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Melliani, F.** (2000) *La langue du quartier: Appropriation de l'espace et identités urbaines chez des jeunes issus de l'immigration Maghrébine en banlieue rouennaise*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Melo, J.** (2009) *Viva Favela! Quand les démunis prennent leur destin en main*. Paris: Michel Lafon.
- Memmi, A.** (2003 [1957]) *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. London: Eathscan Publications.
- Memmi, A.** (2004) *Portrait du décolonisé arabo-musulman et de quelques autres*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Mengin, C.** (1999) La solution des grands ensembles. *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire*, 105: 105-111.
- Mercer, K.** (1990) Black hair/Style politics. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. Minh-Ha and C. West (eds.) *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (pp. 247-264). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Merken, D.** (2009) *Quartiers populaires, quartiers politiques*. Paris: La Dispute.
- Merlin, P.** (1969) *Les villes nouvelles*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Merlin, P.** (1991) *Les villes nouvelles en France*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Merlin, P.** (2010) *Les grands ensembles*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Merrifield, A.** (1995) Situated knowledge through exploration: Reflections on Bunge's 'Geographical Explorations'. *Antipode*, 27(1): 49-70.
- Merrifield, A.** (1996) Social justice and communities of difference: A snapshot from Liverpool. In A. Merrifield and E. Swyngedouw (eds.) *The Urbanization of Injustice* (pp. 200-222). London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Merrifield, A.** (2013) *The Politics of the Encounter: Urban Theory and Protest Under Planetary Urbanization*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.
- Merton, R. K.** (1948) The self-fulfilling prophecy. *The Antioch Review*, 8(2): 193-210.
- Mesnard, I. and Plassard, F.** (2000) Faut-il démolir les banlieues ?. *Géocarrefour*, 75(2): 165-172.
- Michel, H.** (1983) Maisons et propriétaires montpelliérains au milieu du XVIII^e siècle. *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 30(4): 597-615.
- Midi Libre** (2000) Pissevin, toujours en quête de réhabilitation. 30th of April.
- Midi Libre** (2004) Alain Lorgeas, président du comité de quartier: 'Pissevin oublié par la politique de la ville de Nîmes métropole'. 12th of January.
- Midi Libre** (2010) Richard Tibérino: "Nîmes, ce n'est pas Chicago". 3rd February.
- Midi Libre** (2011a) Fusillade à Pissevin: Des questions et une enquête. 23rd February.
- Midi Libre** (2011b) Prêt à tout pour quitter son T3 de la place David. 7th May.

- Midi Libre** (2011c) Des accrochages avec les policiers et des arrestations à Pissevin. 22nd September.
- Midi Libre** (2012a) Un professeur agressé à Condorcet: Les cours suspendus. 6th April.
- Midi Libre** (2012a) Une octogénaire agressée et victime d'un vol à Valdegour. 28th June.
- Midi Libre** (2012b) Il n'aime pas la viande servie par son boucher: Il revient avec un couteau puis un fusil. 28th July.
- Midi Libre** (2012c) Le débat s'enflamme à Pissevin sur la sécurité. 20th October.
- Midi Libre** (2012d) Un docteur de SOS Médecins dépouillé de nuit à Valdegour. 25th October.
- Midi Libre** (2012e) Hold-up à Carrefour Market hier à Pissevin, un butin estimé à 10 000€. 18th November.
- Midi Libre** (2013) 13 permis de conduire retirés en marge de la fêria. 17th of May.
- Mies, M.** (1983) Towards a methodology for feminist research. In G. Bowles and R. Duelli-Klein (eds.) *Theory of Women's Studies* (pp. 117-139). London: Routledge.
- Miller, C. T. and Kaiser, C. R.** (2001) A theoretical perspective on coping with stigma. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(1): 73-92.
- Miller, C. T. and Major, B.** (2000) Coping with stigma and prejudice. In T. F. Heatherton, R. R. Kleck, M. R., Hebl and J. G. Hull (eds.) *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp. 243-272). New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Miller, J.** (2001) *One of the Guys: Girls, Gangs and Gender*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, J. and Glassner, B.** (2004) [1997] The "inside" and the "outside": Finding realities in interviews. In D. Silverman (ed.) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (pp. 125-139). London: Sage.
- Ministère des Finances** (2006) 'Projet de loi de finances pour 2007: Document de politique transversale, ville'. Available online [last accessed 16-07-2012]: http://www.minefi.gouv.fr/performance/performance/etat/dpt_ville.pdf
- Minton, A.** (2009) *Ground Control: Fear and Happiness in the Twenty-First Century City*. London: Penguin.
- Mitchell, D.** (1997) The annihilation of space by law: The roots and implications of anti-homeless laws. *Antipode*, 29: 303-335.
- Mitchell, K.** (2011) Marseille's not for burning: Comparative networks of integration and exclusion in two French cities. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 101(2): 404-423.
- Mohammed, M. and Mucchielli, L.** (2006) La police dans les quartiers "sensibles": un profond malaise. In L. Mucchielli and V. Le Goaziou (eds.) *Quand les banlieues brûlent... Retour sur les émeutes de novembre 2005* (pp. 104-125). Paris: La Découverte.

- Mohan, J.** (2002) Geographies of welfare and social exclusion: Dimensions, consequences and methods. *Progress in Human Geography*, 26(1): 65-75.
- Mollenkopf, J. and Castells, M.** (1991) Introduction. In J. Mollenkopf and M. Castells (eds.) *Dual City: The Restructuring of New York* (pp. 3-22). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Mongin, O.** (1995) Regarde-les tomber: A propos de *La Haine* de Matthieu Kassovitz. *Esprit*, 214: 172-186.
- Monnier, G.** (1990) *Le Corbusier*. Lyon: La Manufacture.
- Monnier, G. and Klein, R.** [eds.] (2002) *Les années ZUP: Architectures de la croissance, 1960-1973*. Paris: Picard.
- Mooney, G.** (2009) The 'Broken Society' election: Class hatred and politics of poverty and place in Glasgow East. *Social Policy and Society*, 8(4): 437-450.
- Moran, M.** (2011) Sarkozy versus the *banlieues*: Deconstructing urban legend. *Transitions: Journal of Franco-Iberian Studies*, 7: 92-113.
- Morley, D.** (2000) *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Mottet, J.** (2001) Entre présent et possible: La difficile recomposition du paysage de banlieue dans le film de Matthieu Kassowitz, *La Haine*. *Cinémas: Revue d'Etudes Cinématographiques*, 12(1): 71-86.
- Moulin, B.** [ed.] (2001) *La ville et ses frontières: De la ségrégation sociale à l'ethnisation des rapports sociaux*. Paris: Karthala.
- Mucchielli, L.** (2002) *Violences et insécurités: fantasmes et réalités dans le débat français*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Mucchielli, L.** (2005) *Le scandale des 'tournantes': Dérives médiatiques, contre-enquête sociologique*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Mucchielli, L.** (2006) Immigrations et délinquance: Fantômes et réalités. In N. Guénif-Souilamas (ed.) *La République mise à nu par son immigration* (pp. 39-61). Paris: La Fabrique Éditions.
- Mucchielli, L.** (2009) Autumn 2005: A review of the most important riot in the history of French contemporary society. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(5): 731-751.
- Mucchielli, L.** (2010) Nîmes et Cannes, les Chicago français: TF1 a encore frappé. Available online: <http://blogs.rue89.com/laurent-mucchielli/2010/10/16/nimes-et-cannes-les-chicago-francais-tf1-a-encore-frappe-171484> [Last accessed 20/09/2013].
- Mucchielli, L. and Aït-Omar, A.** (2006) Les émeutes de 2005: les raisons de la colère. In L. Mucchielli and V. Le Goaziou (eds.) *Quand les banlieues brûlent... Retour sur les émeutes de novembre 2005* (pp. 11-35). Paris: La Découverte.

- Mucchielli, L. and Le Goaziou, V.** [eds.] (2006a) *Quand les banlieues brûlent... Retour sur les émeutes de novembre 2005*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Mucchielli, L. and Le Goaziou, V.** (2006b) Les émeutes, forme élémentaires de la contestation politique. In L. Mucchielli and V. Le Goaziou (eds.) *Quand les banlieues brûlent... Retour sur les émeutes de novembre 2005* (pp. 159-170). Paris: La Découverte.
- Mudu, P.** (2006) Patterns of segregation in contemporary Rome. *Urban Geography*, 27(5): 422-440.
- Murphy, Julien** (1995) Beauvoir and the Algerian war: Towards a postcolonial ethic. In M. Simons (ed.) *Feminist Interpretations of Simone de Beauvoir* (pp. 263-298). University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Murphy, John P.** (2011) Baguettes, berets and burning cars: The 2005 riots and the question of race in contemporary France. *French Cultural Studies*, 22(1): 33-49.
- Musolf, G.R.** (2003) *Structure and Agency in Everyday Life: An Introduction to Social Psychology*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Musterd, S.** (2008) Diverse poverty neighbourhoods: Reflections on *Urban Outcasts*. *City*, 12(1): 107-114.
- Musterd, S. and Andersson, R.** (2006) Employment, social mobility and neighbourhood effects: The case of Sweden. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(1): 120-140.
- Musterd, S. and Deurloo, R.** (1997) Ethnic segregation and the role of public housing in Amsterdam. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 88(2): 158-168.
- Nader, L.** (1972) Urban anthropologist: Perspectives gained from studying up. In D. Hynes (ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology* (pp. 284-311). New York: Pantheon.
- Nader, L.** (2010) Side by side: The Other is not mute. In A. Iskandar and H. Ruskom (eds.) *Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation* (pp. 72-85). London: University of California Press.
- Nandy, A.** (2006 [1983]) *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Németh, J.** (2006) Conflict, exclusion, relocation: Skateboarding and public space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 11(3): 297-318.
- Neveu, C.** (2004) Une petite 'fabrique du territoire': Quartiers et citoyenneté à Roubaix. *Ethnologie Française*, 34(1): 59-66.
- New, C.** (2007) Structure, agency and social transformation. *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 24(3): 187-205.
- Newman, K. S.** (1999) *No Shame In My Game: The Working Poor in the Inner City*. New York: Vintage Books.

- Nightingale, C. H.** (2012) *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nijman,** (2000) The paradigmatic city. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 90(1): 135-145.
- Nîmes Métropole** (2010) 'Nîmes Métropole 2030: Visions prospectives de l'agglomération'. Programme de travail partenarial. Nîmes: Agence d'Urbanisme et de Développement des Régions Nîmoises et Alésiennes.
- Noiriel, G.** (1992) *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France: XIX^e-XX^e siècle*. Paris: Hachette.
- Noiriel, G.** (2006 [1992]) *Le creuset français: Histoire de l'immigration, XIX^e-XX^e siècle*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Nordmann, C.** (2006) *Bourdieu / Rancière: la politique entre sociologie et philosophie*. Paris: Éditions Amsterdam.
- Noy, C.** (2008) Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(4): 327-344.
- Oatley, N.** (2001) L'apparition de l'*Edge (of) City*: Quels mots pour les "nouveaux" espaces urbains. In H. Rivière d'Arc (ed.) *Nommer les Nouveaux Territoires Urbains* (pp. 17-38). Paris: UNESCO.
- ObjectifGard** (2013) En visite à Pissevin, François Lamy, Ministre de la ville affiche ces intentions. 1st March: available online: <http://www.objectifgard.com/2013/03/01/politique-en-visite-a-pissevin-nimes-francois-lamy-ministre-de-la-ville-affiche-ses-intentions/> [last accessed 12/07/2013].
- Oblet, T.** (2008) *Défendre la ville: La police, l'urbanisme et les habitants*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- O'Callaghan, M.** (1995) Continuities in imagination. In J. Nederveen Pieterse and B. Parekh (eds.) *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power* (pp. 22-42). London: Zed Books.
- Ogien, A.** (2012) *Sociologie de la déviance*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Olive, J-L., Mucchielli, L. and Giband, D.** [eds.] (2010) *État d'émeutes, état d'exception: Retour à la question centrale des périphéries*. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan.
- Onana, C. et al.** (2006) *Pourquoi la France brûle: La racaille parle*. Paris: Dubois.
- Ong, A.** (2010 [1987]) *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.
- ONZUS** (2009) *Observatoire National des Zones Sensibles : Rapport 2009*. Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville.

- ONZUS** (2010) *Observatoire National des Zones Sensibles : Rapport 2010*. Editions du Comité Interministériel des Villes.
- ONZUS** (2011) *Observatoire National des Zones Sensibles : Rapport 2011*. Editions du Comité Interministériel des Villes.
- Orr, M.** (2003) *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ortner, S. B.** (2006) *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. London: Duke University Press.
- Oscherwitz, D. L.** (2004) Pop goes the *banlieue*: Musical *métissage* and the articulation of a multiculturalist vision. *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 8(1):43-50.
- Pain, R.** (2001) Gender, race, age and fear in the city. *Urban Studies*, 38(5-6): 899-913.
- Pain, R.** (2004) Social geography: Participatory research. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28(5): 652-663.
- Pallez, D.** (2001) 'La pauvreté dans les quartiers de Nîmes: L'ouest et l'est particulièrement touchés par le chômage'. Report: *INSEE Languedoc Roussillon: Repères pour l'économie du Languedoc Roussillon*, n°2 (6 p.).
- Pan Ké Shon, J-L.** (2005) La représentation des habitants de leur quartier: Entre bien-être et repli. *Économie et Statistique*, 386: 3-35.
- Pan Ké Shon, J-L.** (2007) Residents' perceptions of their neighbourhood: Disentangling dissatisfaction, a French survey. *Urban Studies*, 44(1): 2231-2268.
- Pan Ké Shon, J-L.** (2009) Ségrégation ethnique et ségrégation sociale dans les quartiers: L'apport des mobilités résidentielles. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 50(3): 451-487.
- Pan Ké Shon, J-L.** (2010) The ambivalent nature of ethnic segregation in France's disadvantaged neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*, 47(8): 1603-1623.
- Pan Ké Shon, J-L.** (2011) Perceptions of insecurity in French poor neighbourhoods: Racial proxy or pure discrimination hypothesis? *Urban Studies*, 48(10): 1-21.
- Papieau, I.** (1996) *La construction des images dans les discours sur la banlieue Parisienne: Pratiques et productions esthétiques*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Paquot, T.** (2004) Ville et nature, un rendez-vous manqué ? *Diogène*, 207: 83-94.
- Paquot, T.** (2008) Banlieue, un singulier pluriel. In T. Paquot (ed.) *Banlieue, une anthologie* (pp. 1-20). Paris: Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes.
- Pardo, M.** (1998) *Mexican American Women Activists: Identity and Resistance in Two Los Angeles Communities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Park, R. E.** (1952) *Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology*. New York: The Free Press.

- Parker, S.** (2010) From soft eyes to street lives: *The Wire* and jargons of authenticity. *City*, 14(5): 545-557.
- Parr, H.** (2003) Medical geography: Care and caring. *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(2): 212-221.
- Parr, H.** and **Philo, C.** (2003) Rural mental health and social geographies of caring. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 4(4): 471-488.
- Passeron, J-C.** (1995) L'espace mental de l'enquête. *l'enquête*, 1: 13-42.
- Patel, T. G.** and **Tyrer D.** (2011) *Race, Crime and Resistance*. London: Sage.
- Paterson, M.** (2009) Haptic geographies: Ethnography, haptic knowledge and sensuous experience. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(6): 766-788.
- Patillo, M.** (2009) Revisiting Loïc Wacquant's *Urban Outcasts*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(3): 858-864.
- Patrick, J.** (2012 [1973]) *A Glasgow Gang Observed*. London: Eyre Methuen.
- Paugam, S.** (1991) *La disqualification sociale: Essai sur la nouvelle pauvreté sociale*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Paugam, S.** and **Van Zantem, A.** (2001) Constructions identitaires et rapports sociaux dans une cité défavorisée de la banlieue parisienne. In D. Shnapper (ed.) *Exclusions au cœur de la cité* (pp. 19-68). Paris: Anthropos.
- Payet, J-P.** (1992) Civilités et ethnicité dans les collèges de banlieue: Enjeux, résistances et dérives d'une action scolaire territorialisée. *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, 101: 59-69.
- Payet, J-P.** and **Laforge, D.** (2008) Qu'est-ce qu'un acteur faible ? Contribution à une sociologie morale et pragmatique de la reconnaissance. In J-P. Payer, F. Giuliani and D. Laforge (eds.) *La voix des acteurs faibles: De l'indignité à la reconnaissance* (pp. 9-25). Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Payet, J-P., Giuliani, F.** and **Laforge, D.** [eds.] (2008) *La voix des acteurs faibles: De l'indignité à la reconnaissance*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Peach, C.** (1996) Does Britain have ghettos? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 21(1): 216-235.
- Pearce J.** (2012) The 'blemish of place': Stigma, geography and health inequalities. *Social Science and Medicine*, 75: 1921-1924.
- Peck, J.** (1996) *Work-Place: The Social Regulation of Labour Markets*. New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Pégram, S.** (2011) Not condemned to fail: Examples of 'rapped' resistance and cultural uplift in French hip-hop. *Journal of Poetry Therapy*, 24(4): 239-253.

- Peillon, P.** (2001) *Utopie et désordre urbains: Essai sur les grands ensembles d'habitation*. La Tour d'Aigues: Éditions de l'Aube.
- Penrod, J., Bray Preston, D., Cain, R. E. and Starks, M. T.** (2003) A discussion of chain referral as a method of sampling hard-to-reach populations. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 14(2): 100-107.
- Peralva, A.** (1995) Violence de banlieue et politisation juvénile. *Cultures & Conflits*, 18: 49-61.
- Peralva, A. and Macé, E.** (2002) *Médias et violences urbaines: Débats politiques et construction journalistique*. Paris: Documentation Française.
- Perlman, J. E.** (2004) The metamorphosis of marginality in Rio de Janeiro. *Latin American Research Review*, 39(1): 189-192.
- Permentier, M., van Ham, M. and Bolt, G.** (2007) Behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 22(2): 199-213.
- Perrin, E.** (2008) *Jeunes maghrébins de France: La place refusée*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Pétonnet, C.** (1973 [1968]) *Those People: The Subculture of a Housing Project*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Pétonnet, C.** (1982) *Espaces habités: Ethnologie des banlieues*. Paris: Éditions Galilée.
- Peugny, C.** (2013) *Le destin au berceau: Inégalités et reproduction sociale*. Paris: Seuil.
- Pfuhl, E. H. and Henry, S.** (1993) *The Deviance Process*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Phelan, J., Link, B. G., Moore, R. E. and Stueve, A.** (1997) The stigma of homelessness: The impact of the label "homeless" on attitudes towards poor persons. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60(4): 323-337.
- Philo, C.** (2007) Review essay: Michel Foucault, 'Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the College de France, 1973-1974'. *Foucault Studies*, 4: 149-163.
- Pile, S.** (1996) *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space and Subjectivity*. London: Routledge.
- Pile, S.** (1997) Introduction: Opposition, political identities and spaces of resistance. In S. Pile and M. Keith (eds.) *Geographies of Resistance* (pp.1-32). London: Routledge.
- Pile, S.** (2005) *Real Cities: Modernity, Space and the Phantasmagorias of City Life*. London: Sage.
- Pile, S. and Keith, M.** [eds.] (1997) *Geographies of Resistance*. London: Routledge.
- Pinchemel, P.** (1959) La signification des grands ensembles. *Revue Logement*, 115, Octobre: 14-15.
- Pinçon, M. and Pinçon-Charlot, M.** (2007) *Les ghettos du Gotha: Comment la bourgeoisie défend ses espaces*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

- Pitts, M. and Smith, A.** (2007) *Researching the Margins: Strategies for Ethical and Rigorous Research Within Marginalised Communities*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Piven, F. F. and Cloward, R.** (1993) *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Plouchart, L.** (1999) *Comprendre les grands ensembles: Une exploration des représentations et des perceptions*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Popke, J.** (2006) Geography and ethics: Everyday mediations through care and consumption. *Progress in Human Geography*, 30(4): 504-512.
- Power, A.** (1999) *Estates on the Edge: The Social Consequence of Mass Housing in Northern Europe*. London: Macmillan.
- Poupeau, F. and François, J-C.** (2008) *Le sens du placement: Ségrégation résidentielle et ségrégation scolaire*. Paris: Raisons d'Agir.
- Pousseau, J-P.** (1980) Les crises démographiques en milieu urbain: L'exemple de Bordeaux (fin XVII^e-fin XVIII^e). *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 35(2): 235-252.
- Poutignat, P. and Streiff-Fénart, J.** (2001) Discours urbains et modes de dénomination des nouveaux territoires dans deux villes de Mauritanie', in H. Rivière d'Arc (ed.) *Nommer les Nouveaux Territoires Urbains* (ppp. 211-234). Paris: UNESCO.
- Pouvreau, B., Couronné, M., Laborde, M-F. and Gaudry, G.** (2007) *Les cités-jardins de la banlieue du nord-ouest parisien*. Paris: Éditions du Moniteur.
- Pratt, G.** (1990) Feminist analyses of the restructuring of urban life. *Urban Geography*, 11(6): 594-605.
- Pratt, G. and Hanson, S.** (1994) Geography and the construction of difference. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 1(1): 5-29.
- Pred, A.** (1989) Survey 14: The locally spoken word and local struggles. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 7(2): 211-233.
- Pred, A.** (2000) *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Préteceille, E.** (1973) *La production des grands ensembles*. Paris: Mouton.
- Prus, R. and Grills, S.** (2003) *Deviant Mystiques: Involvements, Realities and Regulation*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Purdy, S.** (2003) "Ripped off" by the system: Housing policy, poverty, and territorial stigmatization in Regent Park housing project, 1951-1991. *Labour / Le Travail*, 52(Fall): 45-108.
- Purière, A.** (2009) *Assistance sociale et contrepartie, actualité d'un débat ancien*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

- Quinn, D. M.** (2008) Concealable versus conspicuous stigmatized identities. In S. Levin and C. van Laar (eds.) *Stigma and Group Inequality: Social Psychological Perspectives* (pp. 83-104). London: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rabinow, P.** (1977) *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rabinow, P. and Sullivan, M. W.** [eds.] (1987) *Interpretive Social Science: A Second Look*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rancière, J.** (2004) Who is the subject of the Rights of Man? *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103(2-3): 297-310.
- Rancière, J.** (2010 [1983]) *The Philosopher and his Poor*. London: Duke University Press.
- Rancière, J.** (2003) *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. London: Continuum.
- Ratouis, O. and Boissonade, J.** (2006) Testing urban forms: City, control and 'urban violence' in France. In J. Flint (ed.) *Housing, Urban Governance and Anti-Social Behaviour: Perspectives, Policy and Practice* (pp.281-300). Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Réa, A.** (1997) *La société en miettes: Épreuves et enjeux de l'exclusion*. Bruxelles: Éditions Labor.
- Reeder, D. A.** (2006) *Slum et suburb* dans le discours de la ville en Grande-Bretagne (XIXe et début du XXe siècle). In J-C. Depaule (ed.) *Les mots de la stigmatisation urbaine* (pp.57-72). Paris: Editions UNESCO.
- Reinharz, S.** (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Renouard, J. M.** (1993) Les relations entre la police et les jeunes: La recherche en question. *Déviance et Société*, 17(4): 419-438.
- Rey, H.** (1996) *La peur des banlieues*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Rhein, C.** (1988) Histoire politique et banlieues. *Espace Géographique*, 17(1): 71-73.
- Rhodes, J.** (2012) Stigmatization, space, and boundaries in de-industrial Burnley. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 35(4): 684-703.
- Ribert, E.** (2006) *Liberté, égalité, carte d'identité: Les jeunes issus de l'immigration et l'appartenance nationale*. Paris: La Découvert.
- Rice, G.** (2010) Reflections on interviewing elites. *Area*, 42(1): 70-75.
- Ricoeur, P.** (1971) The model of the text: Meaningful action considered as a text. *Social Research*, 38: 529-562.
- Ricoeur, P.** (1992) *Oneself as the Other*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Rigouste, M.** (2004) Le langage des médias sur les 'cités': Représenter l'espace, légitimer le contrôle. *Hommes et Migrations*, 1252: 75-82.

- Rigouste, M.** (2008) La guerre à l'intérieur: La militarisation du contrôle des quartiers populaires. In L. Mucchielli (ed.) *La frénésie sécuritaire: Retour à l'ordre et nouveau contrôle social* (pp. 88-98). Paris: La Découverte.
- Rinaudo, C.** (1999) *L'ethnicité dans la cité: Jeux et enjeux de la catégorisation ethnique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Robin, A.** (2007) *Les filles de banlieue populaire: Footballeuses et garçons de cité: Mauvais genre ou nouveau genre ?* Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Robine, J.** (2004) SOS Racisme et les "ghettos de banlieue": Construction et utilisations d'une représentation. *Hérodote*, 113(2): 134-151.
- Robine, J.** (2011) *Les ghettos de la nation: Ségrégation, délinquance, identités, islam*. Paris: Vendémiaire.
- Robinson, J.** (2002) Global and world cities: A view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26(3): 531-554.
- Robinson, J.** (2005) *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*. London: Routledge.
- Robinson, J.** (2008) Developing ordinary cities: City visioning processes in Durban and Johannesburg. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(1): 74-87.
- Roche, A.** (1992) Un défaut de vision. Les Arabes vus par les pieds-noirs: Analyses d'entretiens. *Mots*, 30: 72-89.
- Roché, S.** (2006) *Le frisson de l'émeute: Violences urbaines et banlieues*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Roché, S. and de Maillard, J.** (2009) Crisis in policing: The French rioting of 2005. *Policing*, 3(1): 34-40.
- Roebuck, P.** (1999) Meaning and geography. In J.D. Proctor and D.M. Smith (eds.) *Geography and Ethics: Journeys in a Moral Terrain* (pp. 19-29). London: Routledge.
- Roncayolo, M.** (1997 [1978]) *La ville et ses territoires*. Paris: Folio.
- Roschelle, A. R. and Kaufman, P.** (2004) Fitting in and fighting back: Stigma management strategies among homeless kids. *Symbolic Interaction*, 27(1): 23-46.
- Rosello, M.** (2004) Frontières invisibles autour des banlieues: Des "Déroutiers" aux "Soldats perdus de l'Islam". *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 8(2) : 143-157.
- Room, R.** (2005) Stigma, social inequality and alcohol and drug use. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 24(2): 143-155.
- Rose, G.** (1997a) Situating knowledges: Positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3): 305-320.
- Rotival, M.** (1935) Les grands ensembles. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1(5): 57-72.

- Rouagdia, H.** (2009) A Nîmes, acquittement du gendarme responsable de la mort d'un jeune de 17 ans. *Le Monde*, 2nd of October.
- Roudil, N.** (2011) *Usages sociaux de la déviance: Habiter la Castellane sous le regard de l'institution*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Rouleau, B.** (1985) *Villages et faubourgs de l'ancien Paris: Histoire d'un espace urbain*. Paris: Seuil.
- Rouleau-Berger, L.** (2004) *La rue, miroir des peurs et des solidarités*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Rouzel, J. and Rouzel, F.** (2009) *Le travail social est un acte de résistance*. Paris: Dunod.
- Roy, T.** (2003) Travelling with de Beauvoir from India. *Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy*, 13(1): 160-166.
- Rubin, H. J. and Rubin, I. S.** (2012) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. London: Sage.
- Rudner, R.** (1966) *Philosophy of Social Science*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Ruggiero, V.** (2003) Fear and change in the city. *City*, 7(1): 45-55.
- Said, E.** (1994) *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- Said, E.** (1997 [1981]) *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine how we see the Rest of the World*. London: Vintage.
- Said, E.** (2003 [1978]) *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.
- Sala Pala, V.** (2011) Quand les jeunes d'un quartier populaire interprètent les émeutes urbaines. In S. Bérout, B. Gobille, A. Hajjat and M. Zancarini-Fournel (eds.) *Engagements, rebellions et genre dans les quartiers populaires en Europe* (pp. 25-42). Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines.
- Saldanha, A.** (2010) Skin, affect, aggregation: Guattarian variations on Fanon. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(10): 2410-2427.
- Salerno, R. A.** (2007) *Sociology Noir: Studies at the University of Chicago in Loneliness, Marginality and Deviance, 1915-1935*. London: McFarland.
- Sampson, R. J.** (2009) Disparity and diversity in the contemporary city: Social (dis)order revisited. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 60(1): 1-31.
- Sampson, R. J.** (2012) *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sass, L. A.** (1988) Humanism, hermeneutics and the concept of the human subject. In S. B. Messer, L. A. Sass and R. L. Woolfolk (eds.) *Hermeneutics and Psychological Theory* (pp. 222-271). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Sassen, S.** (2001) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Sato, Y.** (2007) *Pouvoir et résistance : Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida, Althusser*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Sauvadet, T.** (2004) Jeunes de banlieue et contrôle du territoire: Le cas d'une cité de banlieue parisienne. *Hérodote*, 113(2): 113-133.
- Sauvadet, T.** (2006a) *Jeunes dangereux, jeunes en danger: Comprendre les violences urbaines*. Paris: Éditions Dilecta.
- Sauvadet, T.** (2006b) *Le capital guerrier: Concurrence et solidarité entre jeunes de cité*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Savransky, M.** (2012) Will there be a place for my life?: Cities, subjectivities and geographies of resistance. *Athenea Digital*, 12(1): 191-206.
- Sayad, A.** (1999) *La double absence: Des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Sayad, A. and Dupuy, É.** (2008 [1998]) *Un Nanterre algérien: Terre de bidonvilles*. Paris: Autrement.
- Sayce, L.** (1998) Stigma, discrimination and social exclusion: What's in a word? *Journal of Mental Health*, 7(4): 331-343.
- Scheyett, A.** (2007) *The Mark of Madness: Stigma, Serious Mental Illness and Social Work*. UNC - Chapel Hill. Available online: <http://ssw.unc.edu/RTI/presentation/PDFs/stigma&SMI.pdf> [Last accessed 14/09/2012].
- Schneider, E. M.** (1993) Feminism and the false dichotomy of victimization and agency. *New York Law School Law Review*, 38: 387-399.
- Schultz Larsen, T.** (2009) *De Forsømte: Skitse til en socialvidenskabelig analyse om relationerne mellem produktionen af forsømte boligområder, de sociale kampe om det boligsociale integrationsarbejde og den boligsociale integration*. Roskilde: Roskilde Universiteit.
- Schur, E. M.** (1980) *The Politics of Deviance: Stigma Contests and the Uses of Power*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Spectrum Books.
- Schur, E. M.** (1984) *Labeling Women Deviant: Gender, Stigma, and Social Control*. London: McGraw Hill.
- Schütz, A.** (1962) *Collective Papers: The Problem of Social Reality*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- Schütz, A.** (1967) *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Schwandt, T. A.** (1998) Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (pp. 221-259). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Sciolino, E.** (2005) Citing of polygamie as a cause of French riots causes uproar. *New York Times*, 18th of November.
- Scott, J. C.** (1976) *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in South East Asia*. London: Yale University Press.
- Scott, J. C.** (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. London: Yale University Press.
- Scott, J. C.** (1989) Everyday forms of resistance. *Copenhagen Papers in East and Southeast Asian Studies*, 4: 33-62.
- Scott, J. C.** (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. London: Yale University Press.
- Searle, J. R.** (1995) *The Construction of Social Reality*. London: Penguin.
- Séchet, R.** (2006) Le populaire et la saleté: De l'hygiénisme au nettoyage au Kärcher. In T. Bulot and V. Veschambre (eds.) *Mots, traces et marques: Dimensions spatiale et linguistique de la mémoire urbaine* (pp. 205-228). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Sedel, J.** (2007) Journalistes et politiques autour des 'cités à problèmes'. In I. Rigoni (ed.) *Qui a peur de la télévision couleur ?* (pp. 173-194). Montreuil: Aux Lieux d'Être.
- Sedel, J.** (2009a) *Les médias et la banlieue*. Lormont: Éditions Le Bord de l'Eau.
- Sedel, J.** (2009b) Une analyse comparée de la médiatisation de deux sociologues de la délinquance juvénile. *Questions de Communication*, 16: Accessible online: <http://questionsdecommunication.revues.org/343> [Last accessed: 18/09/2013].
- Sedel, J.** (2011a) Bondyblog: Le travail de représentation des 'habitants de la banlieue' par un média d'information participative. *Réseaux*, 170(6): 103-133.
- Sedel, J.** (2011b) Les médias et les représentations de la déviance: L'exemple des 'jeunes des banlieues défavorisées'. In I. Gavillet (ed.) *Déviance et risques en dispositifs. Expertise et médiatisation* (pp. 205-213). Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy.
- Sélیمانovski, C.** (2008) *La frontière de la pauvreté*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Sennett, R.** (1996) *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the city in Western Civilization*. London: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Sernhede, O.** (2007) Territorial stigmatisation, Hip Hop and informal schooling. In W. T. Pink and G. W. Noblit (eds.) *International Handbook of Urban Education* (pp. 463-480). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Sernhede, O.** (2011) School, youth culture and territorial stigmatization in Swedish metropolitan districts. *Young*, 19(2): 159-180.
- Sfeir, A. and Andrau, R.** (2005) *Liberté, égalité, Islam: La République face au communautarisme*. Paris: Tallandier.

- Shama, S. and Shama, A.** (2000) "So far so good..." *La Haine* and the poetics of the everyday. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 17(3): 103-116
- Sharp, J.P., Routledge, P., Philo, P. and Paddison, R.** [eds.] (2000) *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*. London: Routledge.
- Sheringham, M.** (2006) *Everyday Life: Theories and Practices from Surrealism to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shields, R.** (1992) *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London: Routledge.
- Shields, R.** (1996) A guide to urban representation and what to do about it: Alternative traditions of urban theory. In A. D King (ed.) *Re-presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st-Century Metropolis* (pp. 227-252). London: Macmillan.
- Shirali, M.** (2007) *Entre Islam et démocratie: Parcours de jeunes français d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Shoham, S.** (1970) *The Mark of Cain: The Stigma Theory of Crime and Social Deviation*. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press.
- Short, J. F.** [ed.] (1971) *The Social Fabric of the Metropolis: Contributions of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sibley, D.** (1981) *Outsiders in Urban Societies*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Sibley, D.** (1992) Outsiders in society and space. In K. Anderson and F. Gale (eds.) *Inventing Spaces: Studies in Cultural Geography* (pp. 107-122). Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Sibley, D.** (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge.
- Sidaway, J. D.** (2000) Recontextualising positionality: Geographical research and academic fields of power. *Antipode*, 32(3): 260-270.
- Siciliano, A.** (2007) *La Haine*: Framing the "urban outcasts". *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(2): 211-230.
- Silverman, D.** (2004 [1997]) Who cares about 'experience'? Missing issues in qualitative research. In D. Silverman (ed.) *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice* (pp. 342-367). London: Sage.
- Silverman, D. and Gubrium, J.** (1994) Competing strategies for analyzing the contexts of social interaction. *Sociological Inquiry*, 64(2): 179-198.
- Silverman, M.** (1992) *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in Modern France*. London: Routledge.
- Silverstein, P. A.** (2000) Sporting faith: Islam, soccer, and the French Nation-State. *Social Text*, 18(4): 25-53.

- Silverstein, P. A. and Tetreault, C.** (2006) Postcolonial urban Apartheid. *Items and Issues*, 5(4): 8-15.
- Simon, P.** (1992) Banlieues: De la concentration au ghetto. *Esprit*, 182 : 58-64.
- Simon, P.** (2003) Les sciences sociales françaises face aux catégories ethniques et raciales. *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 105(1): 111-130.
- Simon, P.** (2005) La mesure des discriminations raciales: L'usage des statistiques dans les politiques publiques. *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales*, 183(1): 13-30.
- Skifter-Andersen, H.** (2003) *Urban Sores: On the Interaction Between Segregation, Urban Decay and Deprived Neighbourhoods*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Slater, T.** (2010) Ghetto blasting: On Loïc Wacquant's *Urban Outcasts*. *Urban Geography*, 31(2): 162-168.
- Slater, T.** (2012) Your life chances affect where you live: A critique of the 'cottage industry' of neighbourhood effects research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, (forthcoming).
- Slater, T.** (2013) Expulsions from public housing: The hidden context of concentrated affluence. *Cities*, 30 (forthcoming).
- Slater, T. and Anderson, N.** (2012) The reputational ghetto: Territorial stigmatisation in St Paul's, Bristol. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(4): 530-546.
- Smith, David, M.** (1994) On professional responsibility to distant others. *Area*, 26(4): 359-367.
- Smith, David, M.** (1997) Geography and ethics: A moral turn? *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(4): 583-590.
- Smith, David, M.** (1998) How far should we care? On the spatial scope of beneficence. *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(1): 15-38.
- Smith, David, M.** (1999) Geography, community, and morality. *Environment and Planning A*, 31(1): 19-35.
- Smith, David, M.** (2000) *Moral Geographies: Ethics in a World of Difference*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Smith, Dorothy** (1990) *Texts, Facts, and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, K. E.** (2006) Problematising power relations in 'elite' interviews. *Geoforum*, 37(4): 643-653.
- Smith, N.** (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, N.** (1998) Giuliani time: The revanchist 1990s. *Social Text*, 57: 1-20.

- Smith, S. J.** (1981) Humanistic method in contemporary social geography. *Area*, 13(4): 293-298.
- Smith, S. J.** (1987) Residential segregation: A geography of English racism. In P. Jackson (ed.) *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography* (pp.25-49). London: Allen & Unwin.
- Smith, S. J.** (1989) Social geography: Social policy and the restructuring of social welfare. *Progress in Human Geography*, 13(1): 118-128.
- Smith, S. J.** (1993) Residential segregation and the politics of racialization. In M. Cross and M. Keith (eds.) *Racism, the City and the State* (pp.128-143). London: Routledge.
- Soja, E.** (1996) *Thirdspace: Journeys through Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined places*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sparke, M.** (2008) Political geographies of globalization (3): resistance. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(1): 1-18.
- Spinetta, A.** (1953) Les grands ensembles pensés pour l'homme. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 46, February.
- Spire, A. and Merllié, D.** (1999) La question des origines dans les statistiques en France: Les enjeux d'une controverse. *Le Mouvement Social*, 188: 119-130.
- Spivak, G. C.** (1988) Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (pp. 271-313). Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Stacey, J.** (1988) Can there be a feminist ethnography? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(1): 21-27.
- Staeheli, L. A.** (2003) Women and the work of community. *Environment and Planning A*, 35(5): 815-831.
- Staeheli, L. A. and Brown, M.** (2003) Where has welfare gone? Introductory remarks on the geographies of care and welfare. *Environment and Planning A*, 35(5): 771-777.
- Staeheli, L. A. and Lawson, V.A.** (1994) A discussion of 'women in the field': The politics of feminist fieldwork. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1): 231-233.
- Staeheli, L. A., Kofman, E. and Peake, L. J.** [eds.] (2004) *Mapping Women, Making Politics: Feminist Perspectives on Political Geography*. London: Routledge.
- Stangor, C. and Crandall, C. S.** (2000) Threat and the social construction of stigma. In T. F. Heatherton, R. R. Kleck, M. R., Hebl and J. G. Hull (eds.) *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp. 62-87). New York City: The Guilford Press.
- Stébé, J-M.** (2004) Frustration et déviance juvénile. In J. Damon (ed.) *Quartiers sensibles et cohésion sociale* (pp.46-48.) Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Stébé, J-M.** (2005) *La médiation dans les quartiers sensibles*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

- Stébé, J-M.** (2009) *Mythologie des cités-ghettos*. Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu.
- Stébé, J-M.** (2010) *La crise des banlieues*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Stoler, A. L.** (1995) *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's 'History of Sexuality' and the Colonial Order of Things*. London: Duke University Press.
- Stovall, T.** (2003) From red belt to black belt: Race, class, and urban marginality in twentieth-century Paris. In S. Peabody and T. Stovall (eds.) *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France* (pp.351-370). London: Duke University Press.
- Subra, P.** (2004) Île de France: La fin de la banlieue rouge. *Hérodote*, 113(2): 14-27.
- Swanson, K.** (2007) Revanchist urbanism heads south: The regulation of indigenous beggars and street vendors in Ecuador *Antipode*, 39(4): 708-728.
- Swanton, D.** (2010) Sorting bodies: Race, affect, and everyday multiculturalism in a mill town in northern England. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(10): 2332-2350.
- Swartz, D.** (1997) *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tabard, N.** (1993a) 'Quartiers pauvres, quartiers riches, position dans la hiérarchie socio-spatiale: villes de 50 000 habitants et plus, France métropolitaine, recensement de 1990'. Document de travail, F9311, INSEE.
- Tabard, N.** (1993b) 'Représentation socio-économique du territoire: typologie des quartiers et communes selon la profession et l'activité économique de leurs habitants'. Document de travail, F9304, INSEE.
- Tabard, N.** (1993c) Des quartiers pauvres aux banlieues aisées: Une représentation sociale du territoire. *Economie et Statistique*, 270: 5-22.
- Taguieff, P-A.** (1987) *La force du préjugé*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Taïeb, E.** (1989) *Immigrés: L'effet génération. Rejet, assimilation, intégration d'hier à aujourd'hui*. Ivry-sur-Seine: Les Éditions de l'Atelier/Éditions Ouvrières.
- Tailhades, B.** (2010) 'Évolution récente des zones urbaines sensibles en Languedoc-Roussillon'. Report: *INSEE: Repères Synthèse pour l'Economie en Languedoc Roussillon*, n°3 (6 pages).
- Tajfel, H.** (1981) *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Takahashi, L.** (1997) Representation, attitudes, and behavior: Analyzing the spatial dimensions of community response to mental disability. *Environment and Planning A*, 29: 501-524.
- Takahashi, L., McElroy, J. and Rowe, S.** (2002) The sociospatial stigmatization of homeless women with children. *Urban Geography*, 23(5): 301-322.

- Tarr, C.** (2005) *Reframing Difference: Beur and Banlieue Filmmaking in France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Tatu-Colasseau, A.** and **Vieille-Marchiset, G.** (2011) Le loisir, moteur de la rébellion silencieuse des descendantes de l'immigration maghrébine dans les quartiers populaires de France. In S. Bérout, B. Gobille, A. Hajjat and M. Zancarini-Fournel (eds.) *Engagements, rebellions et genre dans les quartiers populaires en Europe* (pp. 25-42). Paris: Éditions des Archives Contemporaines.
- Taunton, M.** (2009) *Fictions of the City: Culture and Mass Housing in London and Paris*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Taylor, M.** (1998) Combating the social exclusion of housing estates. *Housing Studies*, 13(6): 819-832.
- Tchernogog, V.** [ed.] (2007) *Le paysage associatif français: Mesures et évolutions*. Paris: Dalloz/Juris-Service.
- Teddlie, C.** and **Yu, F.** (2007) Mixed methods sampling: A typology with examples. *Journal of Mixed - Methods Research*. 1(1): 77-100.
- Teisseyre-Sallmann, L.** (1980) Urbanisme et société: L'exemple de Nîmes aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 35(5): 965-986.
- Teisseyre-Sallmann, L.** (1984) Un indicateur du développement urbain: Le lotissement des faubourgs de Nîmes au XVIII^e siècle. *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 258: 457-478.
- Tévanian, P.** (2007) Le legs colonial. In *Une mauvaise décolonisation. La France: de l'Empire aux émeutes des quartiers populaires* (pp. 59-74). Pantin: Le Temps des Cerises.
- The Economist** (2005) France's riots: An underclass rebellion. 10th of November.
- Thrasher, F.** (1963 [1927]) *The Gang*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Thrift, N.** (2000). Dead or alive? In I. Cook, D. Crouch, S. Naylor and J. Ryan (eds.) *Cultural turns/geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography* (pp.1-6). Essex: Prentice-Hall.
- Tiano, A.** (2003) *La Lutte contre l'exclusion dans le Languedoc maritime, 1789-2000*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Ticktin, M.** (2011) *Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France*. London: University of California Press.
- Tijé-Dra, A.** (2010) Eine andere banlieue? Vorschläge zur diskuranalytischen Untersuchung gegenhegemonialer Sprechpositionen und Raumkonzeptionen. Unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Geography, Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany.
- Tijé-Dra, A.** (2012) Counter-hegemonic space discourses: The example of French rap music. Paper presented at the Association of American Geographers annual meeting, New York, 27th of February.

- Tilly, C.** (1986) *The Contentious French: Four Centuries of Popular Struggle*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Tilly, C.** (1991) Domination, compliance, resistance... Discourse. *Sociological Forum*, 6(3): 593-602.
- Tilly, C.** (2010) Mechanisms of the middle range. In C. Calhoun (ed.) *Robert K. Merton: Sociology of Science and Sociology as Science* (pp. 54-63). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tissot, S.** (2004) Identifier ou décrire les 'quartiers sensibles' ? Le recours aux indicateurs statistiques dans la politique de la ville. *Genèses*, 54(1): 90-111.
- Tissot, S.** (2005) Une "discrimination informelle"? Usages du concept de mixité sociale dans la gestion des attributions de logements HLM. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 159(4): 54-69.
- Tissot, S.** (2007a) *L'État et les quartiers: genèse d'une catégorie de l'action publique*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Tissot, S.** (2007b) The role of race and class in urban marginality: Discussing Loïc Wacquant's comparison between the USA and France. *Cities*, 11: 364-366.
- Tissot, S.** (2008) "French suburbs": A new problem or a new approach to social exclusion? *Center for European Studies Working Paper*, #160 [Working paper].
- Tissot, S. and Poupeau, F.** (2005) La spatialisation des problèmes sociaux. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 159(4): 4-9.
- Todorov, T.** (1982) *La conquête de l'Amérique: La question de l'Autre*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Topia-Kelly, D. P.** (2006) Affect - an ethnocentric encounter? Exploring the 'universalist' imperative of emotional/affective geographies. *Area*, 38(2): 213-217.
- Touraine, A.** (1991) Face à l'exclusion. *Esprit*, 169: 7-13.
- Tribalat, M.** (1999) *Dreux: Voyage au cœur du malaise français*. Paris: Syros.
- Tri-Council Working Group** (1997) *Code of Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. Available at <http://www.hssfc.ca/Gen/Code1Eng.html>.
- Truong, F.** (2012) Au-delà et en deçà du périphérique: Circulations et représentations territoriales de jeunes habitants de Seine-Saint-Denis dans la métropole parisienne. *Métropoles*, 12: <http://metropoles.revues.org/4568> (30 pages).
- Tshimanga, C.** (2009) Let the music play: The African diaspora, popular culture, and national identity in contemporary France. In C. Tshimanga, D. Gondola and P. J. Bloom (eds.) *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (pp. 248-276-46). Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Tucker, W.T.** (1965) Max Weber's *Verstehen*. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 6(2): 157-165.

- Turiel, E.** (2003) Resistance and subversion in everyday life. *Journal of Moral Education*, 32(2): 115-130.
- Turton, A.** (1986) Methodological perspectives on 'Everyday peasant resistance'. *Journal of Peasant Studies* (Special Issue), 13(2): 36-48.
- Twenge, J. and Crocker, J.** (2002) Race, ethnicity, and self-esteem: Meta-analyses comparing whites, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans, including a commentary on Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000). *Psychology Bulletin*, 128(3): 371-408.
- Tyler, I.** (2008) "Chav mum, chav scum": Class disgust in contemporary Britain. *Feminist Media Studies*, 8(1): 17-34.
- Tyler, I.** (2013) *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*. London: Zed Books.
- Uitermark, J. and Gielen, A-J.** (2010) Islam in the spotlight: The mediatization of politics in an Amsterdam neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 47(6): 1325-1342.
- Uslaner, E.M.** (2012) *Segregation and Mistrust: Diversity, Isolation and Social Cohesion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Valentine, G.** (2005 [1997]) Tell me about...: Using Interviews as a Research Methodology. In R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (eds.) *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project* (pp. 110-127). Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Valentine, G.** (2008) Living with difference: Reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(3): 323-337.
- Valentine, G., Sporton, D. and Nielsen, B.** (2008) Language use on the move: Sites of encounter, identities and belonging. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33(3): 376-387.
- van Kempen, E. T.** (1994) The dual city and the poor: Social polarisation, social segregation and life chances. *Urban Studies*, 31(7): 995-1015.
- van Kempen, R. and Özüekren, A. S.** (1998) Ethnic segregation in cities. *Urban Studies*, 35(10): 1631-1656.
- van Kempen, R., Dekker, K., Hall, S. and Tosics, I.** [eds.] (2005) *Restructuring Large Housing Estates in Europe*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Varady, D. P.** [ed.] (2005) *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves, and Inequality*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Venkatesh, S. A.** (2002) *American Project: The Rise and Fall of the Modern Ghetto*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Verdrager, P.** (2010) *Ce que les savants pensent de nous et pourquoi ils ont tort: Critique de Pierre Bourdieu*. Paris: La Découverte.

- Vidal, D.** (2006) De l'histoire coloniale aux banlieues. In P. Blanchard and N. Bancel (eds.) *Culture post-coloniale, 1961-2006* (pp. 176-185). Paris: Autrement.
- Vidal de la Blache, P.** (1915) Londres et les ouvriers de Londres. *Annales de Géographie*, 23(132): 430-433.
- Vieillard-Baron, H.** (1998) *Banlieue, ghetto impossible ?*. Paris: Éditions de l'Aube.
- Vieillard-Baron, H.** (2001) *Les banlieues: Des singularités françaises aux réalités mondiales*. Paris: Hachette.
- Vieillard-Baron, H.** (2004) De l'objet visible à la présence ostensible ? L'Islam dans les banlieues. *Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, 96: 91-102.
- Vieillard-Baron, H.** (2005) La banlieue au risque des définitions. In M-M. Bertucci and V. Houdart-Merot (eds.) *Situations de banlieues: enseignement, langues, cultures* (pp. 31-38). Lyon: Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique.
- Vieillard-Baron, H.** (2006) Des périphéries françaises aux périphéries américaines: du mythe à l'impossible confrontation. *Hérodote*, 122(3): 10-24.
- Vieillard-Baron, H.** (2007) La géographie prioritaire en question: Synthèse prospective et approche de deux villes méridionales: Nîmes et Béziers. *Territoires 2030*, 4(2): 129-140.
- Vieillard-Baron, H.** (2008) La banlieue: Question de définition. In T. Paquot (ed.) *Banlieues, une anthologie* (pp. 21-34). Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes.
- Vienne, P.** (2005) Stigmatisation et inversion du stigmate dans les écoles de la "dernière chance". In E. Callu, J-P Jurmand and A. Vulbeau (eds.) *La Place des jeunes dans la cité, Tome 2: espaces de rue, espaces de parole* (pp. 129-143). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Vieuguet, A.** (1975) *Français et immigrés: Le combat du parti communiste*. Paris: Éditions Sociales.
- Villechaise, A.** (1997) La banlieue sans qualités: Absence d'identité collective dans les grands ensembles. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 38(2): 351-374.
- Villechaise, A.** (2000) *Amère banlieue: Les gens des grands ensembles*. Paris: Grasset.
- Vogt, W. P.** (1999) *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology: A Nontechnical Guide for the Social Sciences*. London: Sage.
- Volle, J-P.** (1971) La population des grands ensembles en Languedoc-Roussillon. *Annales de Géographie*, vol. 80, n°438: 167-194.
- Vološinov, V. N.** (1973) *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. New York: Seminar Press.
- Vulbeau, A.** (2002) *Les inscriptions de la jeunesse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Wacquant, L.** (1992) Pour en finir avec le mythe des "cités-ghettos": Les différences entre la France et les Etats-Unis. *Annales de la Recherche Urbaines*, 54: 1-11.

- Wacquant, L.** (1993a) From ruling class to field of power: An interview with Pierre Bourdieu on *La noblesse d'État*. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 10: 19-44.
- Wacquant, L.** (1993b) Urban outcasts: Stigma and division in the black American ghetto and the French urban periphery. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17(3): 366-383.
- Wacquant, L.** (1996) The rise of urban marginality: Notes on its nature and implications. *Acta Sociologica* 39(2): 121-139.
- Wacquant, L.** (2004) La 'réforme' de l'aide sociale comme instrument de discipline. *Agone*, 31/32: 177-196.
- Wacquant, L.** (2006a) Les banlieues populaires à l'heure de la marginalité avancée. *Les Grands Dossiers des Sciences Humaines*, 4: 30-33.
- Wacquant, L.** (2006b) Ghetto, banlieues, État: réaffirmer la primauté du politique. *Nouveaux Regards*, 33: 62-66.
- Wacquant, L.** (2007a) French working-class *banlieue* and black American ghetto: From conflation to comparison. *Qui Parle*, 16(2): 1-34.
- Wacquant, L.** (2007b) Territorial stigmatization in the age of advanced marginality. *Thesis Eleven*, 91 (November): 66-77.
- Wacquant, L.** (2008a) *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Wacquant, L.** (2008b) Ghettos and anti-ghettos: An anatomy of the new urban poverty. *Thesis Eleven*, 94 (August): 113-118.
- Wacquant, L.** (2009) The body, the ghetto and the penal state. *Qualitative Sociology*, 32(1): 101-129.
- Wacquant, L.** (2010) Urban desolation and symbolic denigration in the hyperghetto. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 73(3): 215-219.
- Wacquant, L.** (2011) 'Territorial stigmatization revisited: Symbols, space and state'. Keynote talk delivered at the "International Conference on Territorial Stigmatization / Network for the Study of Advanced Marginality", Universidade do Porto, 22 June.
- Waddington, D. and King, M.** (2009) Identifying common causes of UK and French riots occurring since the 1980s. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 48(3): 245-256.
- Warner, M.** (2002) Publics and counterpublics. *Public Culture*, 14(1): 49-90.
- Warr, D. J.** (2005a) Social networks in a 'discredited' neighbourhood. *Journal of Sociology*, 41(3): 285-308.
- Warr, D. J.** (2005b) 'There goes the neighbourhood': The malign effects of stigma. *Social City*, 19: 1-11.

- Wassenberg, F.** (2004) Renewing stigmatised estates in the Netherlands: A framework for image renewal strategies. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19: 271-92.
- Watson, S.** (2006) *City Publics: The (Dis)Enchantments of Urban Encounters*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Watson, S.** (2009) The magic of the marketplace: Sociality in a neglected public place. *Urban Studies*, 46(8): 1577-1591.
- Watt, P.** (2006) Respectability, roughness and 'race': Neighbourhood place images and the making of working-class social distinctions in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(4): 776-797.
- Watt, P.** (2007) From the dirty suburb to the spoiled suburb. In B. Campkin and R. Cox (eds.) *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination* (pp.80-91). London: I.B Tauris.
- Watt, P.** (2008) 'Underclass' and 'ordinary people' discourses: Representing/re-representing council tenants in a housing campaign. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 5(3): 345-357.
- Watt, P. and Stenson, K.** (1998) "It's a bit dodgy round here": Safety, danger, ethnicity and young people's use of public place. In T. Skelton and G. Valentine (eds.) *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures* (pp. 249-266). London: Routledge.
- Waxman, C. I.** (1977) *The Stigma of Poverty: A Critique of Poverty Theories and Policies*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Weber, E.** (1976) *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Weber, F.** (1989) *Le travail à-côté, étude d'ethnographie ouvrière*. Paris: EHESS.
- Weil, P.** (2005) *La république et sa diversité: Immigration, intégration, discrimination*. Paris: Seuil.
- Weiss, R. S.** (1994) *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Methods*. New York: The Free Press.
- Wenger, E.** (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wengraf, T.** (2001) *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*. London: Sage.
- White, C. P.** (1986) Everyday resistance, socialist revolution and rural development: The Vietnamese case. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 13(2): 49-63.
- Whyte, W. F.** (1993 [1955]) *Street Corner Society: Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wieviorka, M.** (1996) Racisme, racialisation et ethnicisation en France: Cités, diversité, disparités. Quelques mécanismes de ségrégation. *Hommes et Migration*, 1195: 27-33.

- Willis, P.** (1977) *Learning to Labor: How Working-Class Kids get Working-Class Jobs*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wilson, W. J. and Taub, R. P.** (2006) *There Goes the Neighborhood: Racial, Ethnic, and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and Their Meaning for America*. New York: Vintage.
- Wodak, R.** (2008) 'Us' and 'them': Inclusion and exclusion - discrimination via discourse. In G. Delanty, R. Wodak and P. Jones (eds.) *Identity, Belonging and Migration* (pp. 54-77). Liverpool: Liverpool University press.
- Wolch, J. and Dear, M.** (1987) *Landscapes of Despair: From Deindustrialization to Homelessness*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wolch, J. and Dear, M.** (1989) *The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Wolch, J. and Dear, M.** (1993) *Malign Neglect: Homeless in an American City*. San Francisco: Jesse-Bars.
- Wolch, J. and Philo, C.** (2000) From distributions of deviance to definitions of difference: Past and future mental health geographies. *Health & Place*, 6(3): 137-157.
- Wolikow, S.** (1996) *Le Front Populaire en France*. Paris: Complexes.
- Woolgar, S.** [ed.] (1988) *Knowledge and Reflexivity: New Frontiers in the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Sage.
- Worton, M. and Still, J.** [eds.] (1990) *Intertextuality: Theories and Practice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Yala, A.** (2005) Les paradigmes coloniaux de l'action humanitaire. In P. Blanchard and N. Bancel (eds.) *Culture Post-Coloniale: 1961-2006*. Paris: Editions Autrement.
- Young, L.** (2003) The "place" of street children in Kampala, Uganda: Marginalisation, resistance, and acceptance in the urban environment. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21(5): 607-627.
- Young, R.** (1995) *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge.
- Zappi, S.** (2013) Dans les cités de Nîmes, malgré les travaux, la misère persiste. *Le Monde*, 18th of February.
- Zaretski, E.** (1994) Identity theory, identity politics: Psychoanalysis, Marxism, post-structuralism. In C. Calhoun (ed.) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (pp. 198-215). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Zebrowitz, L. A. and Montepare, J. M.** (2000) "Too young, too old": Stigmatizing adolescents and elders. In T. F. Heatherton, R. R. Kleck, M. R., Hebl and J. G. Hull (eds.) *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp. 334-373). New York City: The Guilford Press.

- Zittoun, P.** (2004) Conflits autour de la démolition: La politique du logement en question. *Mouvements*, 35(5): 87-95.
- Zorbaugh, H. W.** (1983 [1929]) *The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Zorbaugh, H. W.** (2005 [1926]) The natural areas of the city. In J. Lin and C. Mele (eds.) *The Urban Sociology Reader* (pp.82-88). Oxford: Routledge.